













THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW



JULY 1, 1871.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.  
GÖTTINGEN.

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THE  
WESTMINSTER  
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FOREIGN QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

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ART. I.—RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TENDENCIES IN  
SCOTLAND.

1. *Recess Studies.* Edited by Sir ALEXANDER GRANT. Essay on "Church Tendencies in Scotland," by Rev. R. WALLACE, D.D.
2. *Church Tendencies in Scotland.* Essay by H. A. PAGE in *Contemporary Review*, June, 1870.
3. *Life of Dr. Robert Lee.* By Rev. R. H. STORY.
4. *Dr. Lee.* Essay by "Shirley" in *Fraser's Magazine*.
5. *Introductory Addresses at the Opening of the New University of Glasgow.* Address by Professor JOHN CAIRD at the opening of the Faculty of Theology.
6. *Notes on some Present-day Attacks on the Christian Doctrine.* By Professor CHARTERIS. 1870.
7. *The Gilfillan and Dalkeith Heresy Cases.*
8. *The Debate on Patronage, and Chronicle of the General Assembly of 1870.* Blackwood. 1870.
9. *Proceedings of the General Assemblies and United Presbyterian Synod of 1871.*

OF all the social facts that come under the notice of an ordinary Englishman in Scotland, the most prominent is the great ecclesiastical (we shall see afterwards that it can scarcely be called religious) fervour of the people around him. That fervour he sees exhibited in many curious ways. At the present time, and in spite of Buckle, the churches throughout Scotland are filled every Sunday with people of all shades of respectability, from the ploughman, who associates the day with sys-

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tematic shaving, artificial decorum, and a suit of black, to the Edinburgh solicitor who supplements the social influence derived from legal agencies worth 7000*l.* a year with the powerful ecclesiastical position he holds as elder in the Church to which he belongs. The "minister," especially in Presbyterian Dissenting Churches, is even more important as a sort of unpaid social solicitor than as a teacher of religious truth; Farmer A. pours into his ear all the wrongs he has endured at the hands of his landlord; Mrs. B., the self-made milliner, takes his advice as to the boarding-school which is likely to give her daughter a correct English accent; and poor Miss C. inquires of him, with tears in her eyes, whether or not she ought to take pecuniary revenge on the nefarious monster of a grocer or parochial pedagogue who has experimented on her affections, and blighted her prospects of matrimonial usefulness. But most Scotsmen, and certainly all who are Presbyterian Dissenters, have a still more intensely practical interest in religion. Any person of merely average means must admit that the subscriptions which, if a man of statutory liberality, he gives to the Sustentation Fund, the Mission Schemes, the Church Building Fund, and the like, form a very considerable deduction from his income.

Thus attacked at once through his emotions, his social relations, and his purse, the Scotsman is strongly ecclesiastical in his sympathies. The interest, therefore, which he pays to the most trifling proceedings of Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, which appears inexplicable to any one who knows how little the people of England are concerned in the proceedings of Convocation, can be to a certain extent understood when it is remembered that a considerable portion of it is personal. This ecclesiastical enthusiasm has been variously designated. Scotsmen themselves have a trick of speaking euphoniously of their country as "Bible-loving Scotland," while profane outsiders prefer to side with Buckle, and apply to it the epithet of "priest-ridden." It will probably be found that neither definition is adequate or accurate.

But whether or not it be possible to define this religious enthusiasm or deep interest in matters ecclesiastical, it is not the less real. Nor does it appear to have been ever greater than it is at present. In 1843, when what is now known as the Free Church hived off from the Establishment, there may have been greater sound and fury, but the current of feeling now is certainly both broader and deeper. The meetings of Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies, were never before such objects of attraction to the laity, and never before were questions of so striking importance debated. In this Presbytery, it may be the subject of Church union on the platform of "open questions" that is discussed; in

that the law of patronage, the basis of the ecclesiastical position of the Established Church; in a third, it may be considered whether it is just or expedient that an out-spoken brother should be expelled from his Church because he is of opinion that its theological standards contain much that is "false and mischievous." The issues are not now, as in 1843, of a comparatively small and minor, but of a large and fundamental character. It is not now mere "spiritual independence" that is the leading topic of debate, it is the great question of the general union of Churches, and whether that union should be on the basis of theological essentials or of ecclesiastical non-essentials; the Confession of Faith itself is assailed; and in the daily press, which is rapidly becoming the true Church of Scotland, as it has already become the true Church of England, discussions by fervid or erudite laymen on such matters as the differences between Calvinism and Arminianism, Trinitarianism and Unitarianism, are constant and systematic. Although there has been no organized attempt on the part either of the clergy or the laity of Scotland to deal openly with existing beliefs in other than a respectful manner, yet those who are acquainted with the social and inner life of both know that throughout Scotland there is a strong though secret rebellion against Calvinistic doctrine and the Presbyterian view of life in general. That this rebellion will ultimately lead to a considerable modification, if not an abolition of creeds, as well as to other changes, north of the Tweed, seems, to say the least of it, highly probable. In estimating therefore the religious "situation" in Scotland, we prefer to deal not so much with the formal proceedings of Church courts, and the equally formal statements which appear in documents issued by the various religious bodies, as with the facts which come under the cognizance of one who knows from personal experience Scotch religious life. In dealing with that life we shall refer to the two factors that constitute it: the clergy and the laity.

First of the clergy; and in referring to them we wish it to be understood that we refer only to the clergy belonging to the different Presbyterian bodies. For all practical purposes these may be considered as the clergy of the country. For of the 3400 churches which, it has been computed, supply Scotland with religious instruction, no fewer than 2884, representing an even greater proportion of the people, are Presbyterians. With the exception of the Scottish Episcopal Church, there is no important religious body that is not Presbyterian, and it is looked upon as a foreign, not as a native Church, and is attended not so much by the people as by the aristocracy and gentry. In our subsequent remarks, therefore, we seem to be perfectly justified

in considering the religious section of the people of Scotland as Presbyterians. We may also group, for the sake of any inferences we may make, all Established and non-Established Presbyterian bodies together. Their theological basis is the same, being Calvinism, and that variety of it which bears the stamp of John Knox and Andrew Melville. Their forms of worship are, barring a few minor distinctions, identical. Even the Dissenting sects have, in their system of ecclesiastical procedure, borrowed from their Established and so-called Erastian sister; they, like the Church of Scotland, have their Kirk sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and, in the case of the Free Church, an Assembly. The clergy of all sects go through practically the same general training, which consists of three or more generally four years of an Arts curriculum at one or other of the Scotch Universities; and their special theological culture embraces much the same subjects and generally the same text-books. They spring from the same classes of society, generally the poorer and sub-middle, and there is no marked difference between the social and the Dissenting clergy in later life. Certain general propositions can therefore safely be stated in regard to all of them.

The first proposition, and that which forms the basis of the others, is that the clergy are rapidly losing their influence over the intelligence of the country. Neither the well educated classes, properly so called, nor the intelligent artisans, attend church as faithfully as they used to do. In towns, where a great variety of preaching is to be had, they may attend the ministrations of some particular clergyman; not, indeed, because they believe in any divine right attaching to his office, but because they sympathize with his standpoint, his preaching suits them. It is the country districts that are the strongholds of Presbyterianism, and justify the statement as to the ecclesiastical fervour of Scotland with which this paper opened. There, as in earlier days, when Calvinism was in its prime, "the minister" is as a rule listened to as if in virtue of his office, whatever he said must have the stamp of heavenly truth; the repetition of truisms, and the fierce enunciation of dogmas, too often pass off for wisdom and soberness. Even there, however, an inroad is being gradually made upon the prerogatives of the clergy. Sunday walks are actively competing with Sunday sermons. The farm-labourer, after six days of hard labour, finds it much more healthy to wander in the open air than to sleep over a dull sermon and through an uncouth service; the defiant shriek of the Sunday locomotive, dragging behind it hundreds of fellow-men bent on making the first day of the week truly a day of recreation, drowns the voice of the preacher who, forgetful of the true Christian spirit which would draw men to the truth, en-

deavours to bully them into mere church attendance. In spite of the earnest protestations of the clergy, the number of Sunday walkers and Sunday excursionists is rapidly increasing. And the very fact of its increasing in spite of their protestations is a proof of the decline of their influence.

This decline can be accounted for by the fact, which it is impossible longer to disguise, that the clergy do not now include in their number the most intelligent of the Scotch community. It is notorious that the young men of most talent and greatest acquirement who pass through a University curriculum do not as a rule enter the clerical profession. They become lawyers, physicians, merchants; they enter the home and Indian civil services; they are found thronging the portals of literature; in the north, where the parochial schoolmaster is often better paid than the parish clergyman, they become teachers. In short, they will do and become anything rather than join the ranks of the Presbyterian clergy. The result of course, is that these are recruited by men of uninquiring intellect, of amiable disposition, of a quiet scholarly turn, and of a merely political ambition. The ordinary Scotch minister is either a dull man, who, having no light himself, cannot enlighten others, and whose sermons consist generally of the modifying repetition of Calvinistic doctrines, and often merely of Scripture texts; an honest but weak man, who does good service by the simple and consistent character of his walk, rather than by the depth of his conversation; a book-worm great in texts, and glosses, and Hebrew roots, the goal of whose ambition is a Professorship of Church History or Biblical Criticism; or a restless pettifogger anxious only to acquire a representation in the Church camp. Of course there are exceptional men, and to these we shall refer presently, who are genuine thinkers, and quite fit to be placed by the side of the best men of their profession in other countries; but we are confident that nine-tenths of the Scotch Presbyterian clergy can be placed under one or other of the four classes specified above. It follows that even in the country parish, there are several persons as generally well educated and as intelligent as the minister. The country solicitor, the doctor, the teacher, have all a good education; their intellects have been sharpened by the discharge of the duties of professions much more active and competitive than that of the preacher; they criticise freely, and not always favourably; and their criticisms being heard and listened to everywhere, very appreciably affect the estimation in which the clergyman is held by the members of his "flock." In the large towns, where the active professions are represented by higher talent, the clergy are held in even smaller esteem; as social advisers or public philanthropists, they are certainly not more looked up to than leading



physicians or prosperous lawyers or merchants; and in society they are far indeed from being treated with exceptional reverence.

This decline in the intellectual culture of the clergy is further to be attributed to the fact that they are miserably underpaid. The clergy of the Established Church receive on an average about 230*l.* of annual stipend; while their brethren of the Free Church (the most flourishing of the Dissenting bodies) are not paid at a higher average rate than 150*l.* a year. In the large cities, indeed, where the regular incomes of popular clergymen are supplemented by grateful congregations, stipends of from 600*l.* to 1000*l.* may be realized; but as a rule a clergyman is not nearly so well paid as a commercial traveller, or a managing clerk in a flourishing house. Compared with the professions of law and medicine, in which incomes of from 1000*l.* to 3000*l.* can be obtained with no extraordinary expenditure of effort, that of the ministry presents few attractions to young men of energy.

Finally, the fact that the Presbyterian clergy have no freedom of thought worthy of the name, must have a considerable effect in deterring young men of really active and enterprising intellect from joining their ranks. Such men have been known to accept a quiet country life, even although it might not be highly remunerative, provided it gave them leisure for independent thought; they have become professors, and even country schoolmasters. But while Presbyterian clergy are not so well paid as Scotch professors, and in many cases not better than parochial schoolmasters, they have no compensating advantages. While they are, on the one hand, busily occupied with the duties, ever increasing in number, the performance of which is exacted from them as ministers, they cannot, on the other hand, in the little spare time they have, pursue with unfettered energy researches in that department of thought which is supposed to be exclusively theirs. For "thus far and no further" are practically the words addressed to Presbyterian ministers the moment they sign the formula of their Church. As a rule they are very young when they thus bind down their intellects; they are expected to have done with reasoning and doubt, and to have thought out all important questions in metaphysics and theology before the age of twenty-five, when most Presbyterian students obtain "licence." At this time, when the intellect is, or ought to be, most active, and most inclined for the labour of original research, the thinking career of the young Scotch clergyman is abruptly and completely cut short. For there is no such hope for him as the laxity of the Thirty-nine Articles holds out to his English brother. The Standards of Calvinism are terribly definite, and deposition swift

and summary, and with very serious social consequences, is the lot of him who ventures to think, or at all events speak for himself. Heresy-hunting has always been a favourite pursuit in Scotland with keen but narrow minds, and it has been cultivated with only too great success. So long as there was general indifference on theological subjects, and a science of theology was deemed impossible, these restraints upon the religious instinct were felt only slightly. But the intellectual activity of the times is making itself known even in theology; the scientific spirit is abroad, and is penetrating into Scotland. And the result is shown in various ways. The more active intellects in the Scotch Churches, who subscribed the Confession of Faith in days of youthful ignorance and impulse, but who are now of opinion that it does not contain the whole counsel of God, are forced to do one or other of two things, both of which must be considered unpleasant in the last degree: they must either remain in the Church to which they nominally belong, disguise their convictions, and ring the changes on old doctrines which they do not believe at all or only believe in part—a course demoralizing in the extreme; or they must speak out what they think—a course which is almost certain to be followed by deposition, and deposition means in most instances not only disgrace, but ruin. Another result is that which we have already alluded to. Knowing what is to take place, young men of good parts decline to enter a profession which entails upon them either a life of dull evangelical mediocrity or the reputation of unsoundness, with its disastrous social consequences, and take to some other walk of life, which, though ideally not so noble, gives more freedom to the play of intellect.

From these different reasons which we have mentioned, it will at once be seen that the Scottish Church must already be poor in intellect, and that, unless some salutary change takes place, must become even poorer; men cannot in times of free thought and well-remunerated activity submit much longer to have their whole being cramped for a footman's wages. And the truth of the matter is that in these days, when the intellectual labourer, perhaps more than any other, thinks himself worthy of his hire, there is great dissatisfaction both with the fetters and with the impecuniosity of the Presbyterians. This is shown by two circumstances among others: the growing tendency among the more enlightened of living clergy to grasp at anything and everything which seems to promise freedom, and the formation by the more active and zealous of the Evangelical party of an association for augmenting small livings. It remains to be seen whether the craving for larger stipend or for greater freedom is the stronger.

Now that we have, in a general way, described the position

and prospects of the Scottish clergy, it may not be amiss to come to particulars, and to endeavour to describe them as they are.

Scotch clergy may be roughly divided into three classes: the first of these is composed of men who, in England, would probably be called bigots, but whom, to use a terminology fashionable in Scotland, we prefer to style "earnest men." The genuine earnest man is a sort of compromise between a Methodist and an Anglican Evangelical. Endowed by nature with powerful lungs, considerable muscular energy, and a rather defective cerebrum, he plods through the ordinary Scottish University curriculum, and emerges from it with a few strong opinions on things natural and supernatural, which in time strengthen into prejudices, and to which he then gives the general name of Calvinism. Although his culture is very limited, and even his knowledge of Presbyterian divinity and Church law questionable in point both of extent and accuracy, he is nevertheless strongly convinced on certain salient points, and these he employs his life in asserting, reasserting, and defending, with all his native vehemence and power of illustration. But he is altogether intolerant of any one who differs materially in matters of religious doctrine from himself; he would, if he could, put down heterodoxy and free-thinking by the power of the law; atheism, positivism, infidelity, he views as varieties of blackguardism rather than as dangerous phases of speculation. In spite of these blemishes, however, earnest men are far from being unlovable or despicable. As a rule they deserve the name they bear; their sincerity and moral purity are beyond reproach; they are laborious in support of their cause; they display a genuine and practical sympathy with all forms of distress; and among people with whom they are on thorough "terms of communion," it is surprising what an amount of Scottish humour and *bonhomie* they exhibit. Nor are they altogether destitute of intellectual power. Every successful Scotch clergyman is distinguished by a certain amount of ease in expression, and by that power of logical deduction which, whether innate or acquired, has become almost a differentia of a Scotsman; he would, indeed, be a *rara avis* among ministers who should be found tripping in reasoning from premises to their legitimate conclusion. Earnest men have, moreover, abundance of moral courage; they maintain their opinions without flinching against the scoffing press, and what they call the "world," meaning thereby that portion of it which is fonder of negative and destructive criticism than of making, by precept or example, any addition to the existing sum of good.

It is in the Free Church that earnest men most abound, and for these reasons among others: first, that dating its existence only from the disruption of 1843, it is a young body, and there-

fore naturally desirous to carry off the palm for orthodoxy and zeal ; and secondly, that the men who "came out" then, were the cream of the earnestness of the Establishment. Chief among these are Dr. Begg and Dr. Gibson, the former a clergyman in Edinburgh, and some time ago Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly, and long distinguished for his strong popular opinions, his honourable and persistent attempts to improve the morality of the working classes by modifying the "bothy" system, and, above all, by his fervid opposition to Popery ; and the latter, who has of late years made himself notorious by his advocacy of a rigid observance of the Sabbath. Dr. Gibson we take to be almost typical as an earnest man. We are very far from approving of him and of all his ways ; but we maintain that he is one of the most thoroughly consistent men in Scotland. Unlike too many of his brethren, he endeavours to carry into practice the doctrines he upholds in the pulpit and from the platform ; he does not inveigh against Sunday trains and at the same time make use of a Sunday cab ; he does not excommunicate a compositor for working on Sunday and at the same time read newspapers produced by the labours of men who, in producing them, are compelled to absent themselves from religious service ; but he walks to and from his church, eats cold meat, and subscribes to that organ of the Free Church in Scotland which ceases work on Saturday evening at twelve o'clock, and commences the next at the same canonical hour. In truth, we recognise in him much of that self-sacrificing virtue which we are so much inclined to think exclusively Roman, and which shone so brightly in Scævola, in Curtius, and in Decius Mus, nor would it surprise us were we to hear some day that Dr. Gibson had become a martyr to the interests of true religion, and had immolated himself on the buffers of a sacrilegious Sunday locomotive.

It is north of the Grampians, in the Presbyteries that centre round Inverness and Aberdeen, that earnest men most abound ; they constitute what has happily been styled the Highland Host ; they were sufficiently powerful to place Dr. Begg in the Moderator's chair in the Free Assembly ; and on various occasions by shouting "The Standards in danger," they have been able to scare their countrymen, and make them repel the invasions of modern thought.

They have, however, fallen upon dark days, and still darker would appear to be in store for them. For if you were to believe their own words, the Union controversy which is at present agitating Scotland is between themselves and men who are not earnest. They object to the proposed union with other Dissenting Presbyterian bodies because it involves a departure from the principle for which they struggled during the ten years



which preceded the era of 1843, and which constituted the foundation of the Free Church ; and they maintain that the promoters of it are animated by the motives of mere earthly expediency. Unquestionably there is a considerable amount of truth in this. In 1843 the Disruptionists took particular care, by loud and fervid utterances, to show that they had neither art nor part with Voluntaryism, which they described more forcibly than courteously as national atheism. At that time they had no thought, but the reverse, of a disruption of the existing connexion between Church and State ; what they contended against was the Erastianism which they saw, or thought they saw, asserting itself in the Church of Scotland ; what they contended for was spiritual independence. To use their own jargon, which is made up to a large extent of Scriptural phrases, they fought against Cæsar and for Christ ; but at the same time they had no objection to accept tribute from Cæsar. Indeed, in the protest which they made when they left the Established Church, they state distinctly that they hold the principle of Establishments, for they assert “the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God’s Word.” They even hand down their protest as a heritage, for they “reserve to themselves and their successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall, in God’s good providence, be offered, to secure the performance of the duty agreeably to the Scriptures.” In short, they left the Establishment because they were ultra-Establishmentarian ; not because they disapproved of any relation existing between Church and State, but because they maintained it to be the duty of the State to establish the true Church.

Twenty years, however, of practical Voluntaryism have rubbed down the angles of the Disruptionists to such an extent, that we actually find a large section of them making overtures for union with the Presbyterian Churches whose creed as well as practice is Voluntaryism, discovering that the differences between them are of a minor character, and proposing to make the whole question of Church and State open. Unquestionably there is here a remarkable change of front and a reduction to the category of non-essentials of certain points hitherto considered of the most essential importance. The earnest party have, certainly, consistency on their side ; but numbers are against them. They are in a minority of almost one to three, and the majority, trusting to their union with the sects that are, both theoretically and practically, Voluntary, to give them strength, are determined, by sheer force of numbers, to carry their point, although it should cost another secession. Even now the question of union on the basis of the Westminster Confession is being discussed, and will in all probability be carried. The earnest party have

therefore nothing left them but to protest, and this they certainly do with remarkable vigour from platforms and in pamphlets; they show, with merciless accuracy, the inconsistency that exists between the speeches of the unionists in 1843 and their speeches in 1871; and they declaim, with great bitterness, against the notion that principles can be changed by "apostate majorities." Doubtless, however, all will be in vain; and a few years will see the earnest men in the Free Church, after a second disruption, degenerate into a high-and-dry sect, like the ultra-Cameronians, very consistent and very Presbyterian no doubt, but uninformed with the spirit of the times, and consequently incapable of effective propagandism. Their ruin has been chiefly brought about by the second great class of Scotch ecclesiastics, the moderate party, and whom, using the epithet frequently applied to them by their admirers, we shall call practical men.

The class which is thus described consists of men with a strong tendency to discussion and action rather than thought; who shine more in Church courts than in their pulpits; who are shrewd rather than profound or scholarly; who aim at the prosperity of their Church rather than the spread of truth. At college they are known for common sense rather than an inquiring intellect; they generally approve themselves fair scholars; but they are best characterized by their shrinking from injuring their main chance in life by committing any of those audacities of speech or action which are considered almost inseparable from genuine student life. As a rule they "get on" in life: their industry in what is known as the Evangelical work of the ministry, which consists in visiting their parishioners sedulously and giving them spiritual instruction at their homes, insures them popularity; their discourses, although not remarkable for either breadth or subtlety, are generally well delivered, and of that safe character which orthodox Scotsmen call "gude gospel" sermons, and, moreover, they are privately cautious and circumspect in a very marked degree. They are thus generally enabled to obtain positions of a higher social and pecuniary value than some of their abler, more magnanimous, and more out-spoken brethren. Being a compromise between the angular unyielding dogmatism of the earnest men on the one hand, and what are considered the dangerous opinions of the class we shall have next to describe, their opinions are of necessity at a premium in bodies which, like the Churches of Scotland, are threatened with attacks from without and innovations from within, and the members of which are as a rule essentially conservative.

No better proof could be obtained of the advantage or worldly wisdom of having safe opinions than the appointment which was made some time ago to the chair of Biblical Criticism in the

University of Edinburgh. This important chair had been held for a considerable period by Dr. Robert Lee, a clergyman of wide views and refined nature, who was known far beyond the limits of his own Church as the champion of free thought in Scotland. Free thought in the largest and truest sense of the phrase, it is impossible by the thoroughly defined constitution of the Church of Scotland for any man to do more than hint at ; and it is even considered heresy to do this. One thing, however, it was or seemed left in Dr. Lee's power to do, to agitate for freedom in religious service. To a cultured and sensitive nature like his, the bald and uncouth service of Presbyterianism was repellent in the last degree ; and he took advantage of the burning down of the church in which he officiated as minister, to improve that service by introducing into his new church the organ, and substituting read prayers for the rhetorical discourses which generally occupied their place. He had, however, either calculated without Scotch bigotry, or had resolved to defy it. The cry of innovations was raised, and only too successfully ; all the force of Scotch conservatism in religious matters, which he had certainly never tried to conciliate, was arrayed against him. One clergyman of strong Presbyterian proclivities saw Satan at work in the organ and the Prayer Book ; another perceived in them the revival of Popery ; and the majority of his brethren disapproved of his innovations as impolitic or unseasonable. The persecution which Dr. Lee had to endure, and which must have seemed to a man of his intellect of the most contemptible character, at last wore him out ; and just when the conflict between himself and his opponents was coming to close quarters, he fell, stricken by paralysis. In a year afterwards he died, and his professorship became vacant. Several of the most eminent and scholarly clergymen in Scotland became candidates for the vacant office. Among others were Dr. Robert Wallace, a clergyman of masculine intellect and ripe scholarship, author of the essay on "Church Tendencies in Scotland," in the volume of "Recess Studies," recently published under the auspices of Sir Alexander Grant, whose capacity for the vacant office was proved by the fact of his having been chosen to conduct Dr. Lee's class after his last and fatal illness ; and Dr. Tulloch, whose theologic culture and fine historic sense have been evidenced by his essay on Theism, and still further by his elegant volumes on the leaders of the Reformation and of the Puritan movement. Both of these gentlemen, however, had the misfortune, so far as their candidature was concerned, to belong to the advanced Liberal or Broad Church party, in the Church of which, during his lifetime, Dr. Lee had been the acknowledged leader ; and Dr. Wallace in particular was suspected to be even further advanced than his master.

The conservative or obscurantist party in the Church saw the danger ahead ; the heresy of Lee might leaven the whole clerical lump, if Tulloch or Wallace were placed at the fountain-head of knowledge, and allowed to poison the ingenuous youth who come from the slopes of the Ochils and the banks of the Tweed, to obtain a smattering of Biblical Criticism before they ask for " licence." To prevent this baleful result, all the ordinary Church machinery was put into operation ; testimonials were written ; wires were pulled ; representations were made ; and as a Tory Government was in power, and the Lord Advocate, the real patron of the office, happened to be Mr. Gordon, a canny elder of the Kirk, looking forward to the day when, as candidate for the Universities of Scotland, he should solicit the suffrages of the Church party, the efforts of the obscurantists were only too successful. The result has been thus described by a well-known writer in "*Fraser's Magazine*:"—"To Dr. Lec's chair a Mr. Charteris was appointed—a smooth, polite, urbane, gentlemanly sort of person, destitute, indeed, of any special force or capacity, a sort of ecclesiastical ladies' doctor." This Mr. (now Dr.) Charteris had a reputation as a popular preacher among a certain class of hearers ; he was assiduous in evangelizing and in superintending Sabbath schools ; as a member of committees for promoting those ecclesiastical enterprises known as schemes of the Church, he was indefatigable. No one, indeed, gave him credit for anything more than fair scholarship, and of especial acquaintance with the department of scholarship known as Biblical criticism, even his most ardent admirers did not think of accusing him. But he was a safe man—that is to say, he had no pronounced or dangerous opinions in theology, and if it was certain that he could not give the young men that might come to him much light, it was not less certain that he would not and could not give them that light which, in the view of those numerous and presumptuous people who think it folly to be wise, leads astray, but which is nevertheless so frequently from heaven. While he was thus, on the one hand, free from the taint of heterodoxy, his conciliatory and unoffending disposition prevented him from repelling those who shudder at purely and utterly intolerant bigotry. His claims were therefore considered superior to those of Wallace and Tulloch, of philosophic grasp and urbane culture. He was appointed, as we have already said, and one of the gates of free thought closed, at all events, for a time. It is thus that, in 1870, with all that scientific theology tells it, and with all the promise that it brings, Professor Charteris refers to tendencies of the time :—"There would be fewer sceptics, if more were able to say, in answer to all the arguments of those who sought to prove that God was not—'I love the Lord, because he has heard my



voice and my supplication." In this puerile way does a Professor of Biblical Criticism answer Paulus, Renan, and Strauss.

But it is not so much in ability for personal aggrandizement that the practical or moderate men in the Presbyterian Churches are at present distinguishing themselves, as in their skill in piloting the various Churches to which they belong amidst the rocks and shoals which threaten them. And just as we found the union negotiations in the Free Church had brought earnest men to the front, so we find their "natural enemies," the practical men, not less prominent and numerous. Chief among these is Dr. Robert Buchanan, of Glasgow.

Dr. Buchanan is, to borrow a distinction from the terminology of Roman law, the adoptive, if not the natural father of the union movement in Scotland. It is he who speaks and writes most upon it, who never wearies of negotiating in its favour, who has cherished it all these years with unflagging enthusiasm, who has cheered the drooping spirits of his fellow-unionists when they have been disgusted and well nigh broken-hearted by the fierce opposition of Dr. Begg, Dr. Gibson, and their followers, and who has now carried his party with him in his resolution to override all opposition. Although neither endowed with eloquence, nor with a tendency towards theological research, he is shrewd, fluent, sophistical. No man can better show the advantages that would result to Christianity and Presbyterianism from a great united Church, or the minute character of the distinctions that exist between the Free Church and the Voluntary bodies with which she, or at all events he, seeks union; no man can better explain away inconsistencies between strong anti-Voluntary utterances in 1843 and equally strong pro-Union utterances in 1871. He is as "safe" as Charteris, but has far more initiative and organizing power; as a rule, cautious in the extreme, he can, as the present emergency shows, be audacious enough when there is no hope but in audacity. Perhaps the great secret of his success is the extraordinary belief which the members of his own body have in his cleverness in intrigue, in his wealth of resource, in his power of overcoming difficulties; he is the Cardinal Antonelli of the Free Church. Enthusiastic, able, even disinterested as he is, we are afraid that Dr. Buchanan's ambition is of the earth, earthy; with not a thought that Presbyterian dogma does not contain the whole counsel of God, he aims merely at establishing in Scotland a large ecclesiastical body, which, from its very size, will be better able to fix firmly upon its members the fetters of Presbyterianism. With all his foresight, Dr. Buchanan does not see that a union on a much more comprehensive and catholic basis than this is required to satisfy the progressive spirit of the times.

But not in the Free Church alone are practical men to be

found in possession of most power; in all Churches they are either the acknowledged leaders or the wire-pullers. In the Establishment, their best representative is Dr. Pirie, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. Partly by his tact, but chiefly by considerable natural powers, consisting of a fluent utterance, and a description of logic which bears the appearance at least of common sense and is commonly so called, he has proved himself generally able to carry a majority with him in the General Assembly, and nothing in the Scotch Church is considered a greater proof of power than ability to do so. For some time he displayed this peculiar power by victoriously leading the party that was opposed to Dr. Lee and his so-called innovations. More recently he has placed himself at the head of that section of the Church which seeks to maintain it in its integrity by abolishing patronage. "Patronage," to quote Mr. Page's words in the "Contemporary Review," "has been the disintegrating, pulverizing element most unjustifiably placed beneath the foundation of the Scotch Church;" and certainly it has been the cause of most, if not the whole of the dissent from the Church that has taken place during the 150 years which have elapsed from the time when it was imposed in direct violation of the Treaty of Union. Useful in many respects, patronage has confessedly been, especially during these latter years, when it has been nothing more than a veto upon the popular election of ministers; but it has been so repugnant to the feelings of the Scotch people as to have caused those various secessions which have culminated in the formation of the Free Church. For many years, indeed, we might almost say from 1843, this fact has been perceived by many of the leading men in the Church, and now the feeling that patronage is a source of weakness has become so powerful that in 1869 a motion for its abolition was carried by a majority of 105, and a similar motion in 1870 by the still greater majority of 173; while this year, what may be considered a final motion to proceed to Parliament as soon as is practicable on the subject, has been carried by a majority of 158 to 62. Dr. Pirie, although on all other ecclesiastical questions the most conservative of conservatives, has yet thrown in his lot with the anti-patronage party, and now is its acknowledged leader, confessedly not because he looks upon patronage as a bad thing in itself, but merely because it prevents the Church from being so strong as it would otherwise be. On the contrary, one would gather from his speeches that patronage is in many respects most estimable and beneficial. But then, as Dr. Pirie in effect says, "Do away with patronage, and you will hold out the olive branch of peace and friendship to the sects outside the Church which that institution has been the means of forming." In short, Dr. Pirie's

motive for abolishing patronage is very much the same as Dr. Buchanan's for promoting the union between the Free Church and the voluntary Presbyterian bodies in Scotland. Both aim at extending the boundaries of their respective Churches; neither seems impressed, or seeks to impress others, with the idea either that the abolition of patronage, or the triumph of Voluntaryism is a thing to be struggled for on grounds of principle. On the latter ground more can be said for the anti-patronage party than for the unionists. The latter contend merely for political power; the abolition of patronage would satisfy the righteous demands of religious equality. Those who are bent on abolition will in all probability succeed; but we question very much if that abolition will bring about all they expect. It is too late to hold out the anti-patronage sop to the Free Church; having once tasted the sweets of practical Voluntaryism, that body will not now return to the flesh-pots of the Establishment. Moreover, there is a danger that the abolition of patronage may lead to a consummation which those most anxious for it are especially desirous to avoid—the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. "Remove patronage," said Mr. Gladstone, almost in as many words, to the anti-patronage deputation from the Church, that waited upon him, "and wherein lies the difference between you and the Free Church? The latter, consequently, seem to have as much right as yourselves to your endowments." The question is an awkward one, and may possibly be followed by not less awkward results. If the Free Church has a right to endowment, will it be re-endowed? Hardly—the days of endowments are passed. It is just possible then, that the moderate men, wise in their own generation, as they undoubtedly are, may be adopting the best means to overthrow that system which it is their chief aim and ambition to maintain and perpetuate.

But the chief hope of Scotland, as far as the clergy are concerned, lies in the advanced Liberals, or, as they are now generally, in language borrowed from English ecclesiastical terminology styled, the Broad Church party. A small but increasing band, they embrace in their number all the best intellects in all the Churches, and among the laity their influence is pre-eminent. As a rule young men are attracted to their side by their liberality of view, their width of culture, their catholicity of sympathy, and their high scholarship. In the Established Church, which, like its sister in England, is the home of whatever latitudinarianism **there** exists in the country, Liberal Churchmen most abound. Till lately, they were led by Dr. Lee, whom we have already alluded to as an energetic Church reformer. Now the most prominent of their number are Dr. Wallace, Dr. Tulloch, and Dr. Caird.

Of these Dr. Wallace is, taking everything into consideration,

the ablest, and is destined, in all probability, to be the Scotch ecclesiastical reformer of the future. Scholarly, cultivated, eloquent, and, above all, intensely humorous, he is at once able to take a broad view of things, and to state it in the most telling manner. The series of speeches which he delivered in the General Assembly of 1869, upon the various important subjects then under discussion, startled by their eloquence, their logical power, the sarcasm which pervaded them, and, above all, by the extreme character of the views which they promulgated, the humdrum exponents of antiquated prejudices. It was then that he stated what his view of what an Established Church should be, which, on account of its sheer audacity, found not a single supporter at the time of its enunciation, but which he has since elaborated and published in the form of the essay to which allusion has already been made. This view, as Dr. Wallace himself puts it, is that the Church should be an institute of "free religious thinkers." To bring about this consummation, he would of course abolish creeds and Confessions of Faith, and vest in the majority of every parish the patronage of the living. At the same time, in order to secure order, and to guard against the vagaries of religionists, he would have the views of the Church collectively drawn up and systematically explained by the members of the "clerisy," who should, however, have the liberty, if they were so minded, of differing from this creed—an orthodoxy in the truest sense of the word—and of expressing their variance to their congregations. In order to keep the Church abreast of the time, and *en rapport* with the discoveries of scientific theology, this creed, confession, statement of the Church's knowledge, or whatever else it may be called, is to be subjected to revision at stated times, and then the distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy is lost, and ecclesiastical liberalism and conservatism are no longer in collision, but become the complements of each other. Were this view—which in its general principles is not new—to be put in practice, it would result in a Church of which latitudinarianism would be the guiding principle, in which the Positivist lion might lie down in the lap of State endowment with the lamb of Evangelicism, and Mr. Martineau and Dr. Pusey might mutually embrace each other. An audacious view certainly to be stated, or even hinted at in the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and it is little to be wondered at that a scared fellow-clergyman should ask if Dr. Wallace actually intended to carry out his principles to their legitimate conclusion, and would have no objection to see a Roman Catholic priest receiving State revenues. The reformer replied that he would not, and when this statement was received with a storm of hisses, was provoked into saying that his words would be listened to by a larger audience than that which then refused to



hear him. In this ecclesiastical radicalism, as it may with all propriety be called, Dr. Wallace, as was to be expected, found, at all events at that time, no open supporters, and it seems to have been the opinion even of his admirers and followers that he went too far. Probably, however, he may have thought that by speaking out boldly he might induce others who are deterred by the pressure of public and private opinion from speaking their mind, to partially follow his example. But whether or not he ever find a sympathetic audience or following among the clergy, he is already a hope and a power among the laity. Greyfriars' Church in Edinburgh, to the pastorate of which he was appointed on the death of Dr. Lee, is crowded every Sunday with a highly cultivated and enthusiastic audience, who are at once charmed with the service, which combines with the beauty and decorum of the Anglican ritual the vigour and originality of Presbyterianism, and enlightened by his sermons, always masculine, suggestive, and appropriate to the times. To Greyfriars' flock all the progressive intellects of Edinburgh, young and old, and seed is being sown there which cannot fail in time to yield remarkable fruit. Dr. Wallace is yet a young man, and it seems perfectly fair to predict that he has a great career before him.

Dr. Tulloch is not inaccurately differentiated by Mr. Page from his brother leaders of the Broad Church party as possessing "more of the true urbanity of culture." He is not so vigorous and logical as Dr. Wallace, but he is more graceful, and consequently more conciliatory. While he neither sees so far nor speaks so boldly, he is more genial and less sarcastic towards his opponents; he is more remarkable for the generous character of his sympathies than for force of intellect or breadth of view. With such a nature, it is not surprising that he should have taken to literature; and his essays upon the founders of the Reformation and the early Puritans are very elegant and very pleasant specimens of the class of writing to which they belong. When, however, he attempts to throw light upon any abstract subject, as in his essay upon Theism, he fails; he only puts old thoughts into a modern dress. The gospel which Dr. Tulloch preaches is the gospel of his own nature—of taste, toleration, and a sympathy with what is graceful and moderate, and borrows a glory from historical associations. Preaching this gospel to his students as Principal of the University of St. Andrews, and to a still larger audience in his various essays, he exercises a salutary influence in Scotland, and is probably better known and better liked by the country at large than any other of his school.

Dr. Caird is at once the student and the preacher of the Broad Church party. Not many years ago he was considered

the most eloquent preacher in Scotland, and as minister of a charge in Edinburgh, and more recently of one in Glasgow, he drew to him greater crowds than perhaps any clergyman in Scotland has done since the days of Thomas Chalmers. He has all the requisites of a great speaker. He carefully studies his subject, and even the minutiae of his elocution, at the same time that a voice capable of expressing every variety of sentiment, and a tendency to rise to high flights of passion, take away from his discourses the marks of art. His cue as a preacher would appear to be to get hold of a good established theological idea, and to work it out by applying it to modern circumstances, and by illustrating that application from the stores of a powerful and disciplined imagination. This is just the sort of preaching that suits a congregation of average intelligence; it does not insult that intelligence by saying trite things in a commonplace way; nor does it go to the opposite extreme of going beyond their depth. Highly popular though he was as a preacher, Dr. Caird never was much of an Evangelist, and eschewed that missionary work which absorbs the energy of too many of the best of Scottish preachers. When therefore, a few years ago, he was called from the work of preaching to the chair of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, he became entirely what, even in his most popular days he had been mainly—a hard student. Natural inclination and research have made him a thorough Liberal, and although he may never be able to add much to the sum of theological science, he cannot fail, from his very conscientiousness as a student and teacher, to exert the most beneficial influence on those with whose minds he happens to come in contact. Since the death of Dr. Lee, and the appointment of his obscurantist successor, therefore, Dr. Caird has become the hope of those young men who, while they are enamoured of intellectual liberty, are more anxious to place her abreast of the thought of the times than to leave her.\*

\* A better proof of the theological position of Dr. Caird, and of his truth-loving spirit, or a better specimen of his eloquence, could not be obtained than the following, which forms the conclusion of the introductory address in the Faculty of Divinity which he delivered in the new University Buildings, Glasgow, at the commencement of the session of 1870:—"A candid and thoughtful man will be led to reflect that it is but a spurious stability which a dogma or theological system derives from anything else than the inherent authority of truth. By this criterion he will endeavour to try even his most sacred traditional beliefs; and should he begin to feel himself, as the result of unshrinking inquiry, outgrowing or drifting away from the most treasured opinions and forms of thought, he will resist every temptation to cling to them with a merely forced and formal tenacity. Every plant which the God of truth hath not planted he will root up with an unsparing hand. And so doing, he will render to Him the highest sacrifice which humanity can offer; for that con-

Although, as we have already said, there is a stronger current of liberal opinion in the Established Church than in most of the others, it must not be imagined that Liberalism is to be found there alone. On the contrary, we find men of progressive views in all the important Churches. In the Free Church, where they are certainly fewest, most reticent, or most timid, their chief repre-

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sists in the quelling, not of our lower feelings and instincts, but of feelings that are in themselves noble and pure. There is no grander tribute of devotion to truth than when a devout mind surrenders to it that which has become endeared by the most sacred associations, and shrinks not from an inquiry the result of which may be that that which has ministered warmth and light to piety is, after all, but unhallowed fire. Let us then, gentlemen, rise to the true dignity of our vocation as scholars and theologians; and that will we do only by absolute, unreserved, self-denying loyalty to truth. Reverence even for the most sacred of books does not require that we refrain from examining into its credentials and into the evidence and rational significance of its contents. Still less does reverence for the theologians of the past imply that we abstain from subjecting their opinions to the test of minute and careful examination—from bringing the best lights of philosophy, science, and logic to bear on their construction of the teaching of Scripture, and refusing to accept at their hands a single proposition which is not so justified. It is no arrogance to hold that the theological inquirer of our day is in a better position than they for the construction of a true theological system. We do not presume to be wiser or better men than they because we can profit by their labours and see a little further by their help. We have means and appliances at our command, too, which no earlier age of inquirers has possessed. Philological and historic criticism has in our day made great advances. Inquiries into the authenticity and structure of ancient documents, the limits of their authority, and the principles of their interpretation, are now conducted in a far more thorough, sifting, and at the same time more liberal, tolerant, and truly scientific spirit than in former times. Physical science has in many directions made vast strides since the latest of our Creeds and Confessions were constructed, and so enabled us to remodel our views of the conditions of inspiration and the limits of Scripture teaching outside of the province of moral and religious truth. Finally, the complexion of a theological system depends greatly on the philosophical and logical method and categories of thought which we bring to its construction; and surely we may hold, without presumption, that the logic and philosophy of our day are in advance of that contentless scholastic logic and barren nominalism which cumbered the earth when most of our traditional creeds and systems were built up. May we not, then, enter on our labours with no unhelpful spirit? Need we fold our hands as if the work of the theologian were ended, and that ever-growing progress and freshness of results, which is the stimulus and reward of intellectual labour in every other sphere of thought, were here no longer possible—as if the last stone had been already placed on the temple of truth, the last sheaf gathered in from the Master's field? No, it is not so. Long has the Church's labour been, but the great living temple that has been rising through the ages is still far from complete; and where, on its stately walls and uprising towers, hands that now work no more have left off to build, we are now called to resume and carry on the noble task. The field where generations of reapers have gathered in such rich results is still waving luxuriant with a perennial harvest of thought; and still to the youngest and latest-come of His servants the Master's voice is calling, 'Go thou also into the vineyard!'

sentative is Dr. Hanna, till lately colleague of the well-known philanthropist Dr. Guthrie, in the charge which the latter held in Edinburgh until failing health compelled him to give up preaching altogether. Dr. Hanna is a man of delicate nature and retiring habits, whose Liberalism has cropped up chiefly in some volumes of the character of Biblical explanation, in which he has dealt tenderly and lovingly, though at the same time freely and truthfully, with certain passages of Scripture, and has in consequence aroused the suspicions of fierce, uninquiring, but yet vigilant ecclesiastics of the Gibson and Begg type. Against rumours of heterodoxy on the one hand, and the cold shoulder of safe and dry moderates on the other, he seems to be perfectly proof, pursuing the even tenor of his way without pausing for a moment to explain away suspicions. Of the same type, character, and views is Dr. Walter Smith, who is already tolerably well known for some very sweet poems, and latterly, though in his own communion not so favourably, for some rather liberal discourses which he preached a considerable time ago on the Decalogue, declaring it to be an imperfect exhibition of moral law. For these he was called in question by his own Presbytery, that in which both Dr. Gibson and Dr. Buchanan hold a leading position, and in the first case he was actually admonished and called upon to recant his heresies. Before the case went any further, however, milder counsels prevailed, and a slight, but very slight modification of the views which he had promulgated, satisfied the highest court of the Church, to which his case was ultimately taken. Both Dr. Hanna and Dr. Smith, however, are remarkable and valuable, not so much for what they have said and done as for the fact that they can exist at all in the Free Church; they indicate that there too are to be found men in whose eyes the Westminster Confession and the Calvinistic "traditions of the elders" do not contain the whole counsel of God.

The United Presbyterian Church has the reputation, and the reputation is on the whole well-founded, of being the most strait-laced of the Presbyterian bodies; yet it contains the least strait-laced of the Scotch preachers. For if ever there was a case of the round man in the square hole, it is that of the Rev. George Gilfillan in a United Presbyterian pulpit. Mr. Gilfillan is not unknown in the world of literature. He has written a variety of books and upon a variety of subjects. His style may be described as Carlylese without the distinctive genius of Carlyle. He has all his great master's admiration of veracity and hatred of shams, and not a little of his fluency and eloquence. He is a worshipper of heroes, though far from discriminating as such. His best performances are his lectures on "Christian Heroes;" his worst are



his speeches in favour of a village Hampden of the name of Robertson, who, after failing to gain the notice of the public by an unintelligible book called "The Laws of Thought," has contrived, by breaking a gate, to bring himself at once to notoriety and bankruptcy. Nature seems to have intended Mr. Gilfillan for a good and somewhat rollicking newspaper editor. His habit of expressing himself strongly regarding any matter on which he speaks, and his enthusiasm in favour of the excellent qualities of men such as the poet Burns, who are generally reprobated by strict Presbyterians, have to a certain extent alienated him from the bulk of his fellows, and have given him the character of being somewhat of a clerical Bohemian. Perhaps, from the very fact of his being thus separated from his brethren in general sympathy, he has come also to abandon their theological standpoint. Recently, from his pulpit in Dundee, he gave utterance to the extraordinary statement that the Confession of Faith, which, as every one knows, is the theological basis of the Presbyterian Churches, "is full of blunders." Although Mr. Gilfillan was afterwards able to show, with great distinctness and force, that similar statements had been made on former occasions by many, even of his own brethren, yet coming from a man so well known as he was, and expressed with all his wonted eloquence, it fell like a bombshell into the ranks of his fellow Presbyterians. As was to be expected, the theological hue and cry was raised, and had the orthodox been logical, or had it not been at the time most inopportune to prosecute Mr. Gilfillan, he would probably have been deposed as quickly as the processes of the Church would permit. But fortunately for Mr. Gilfillan, or perhaps we should rather say unfortunately for those opposed to him, the Presbytery which first took up the case was not, as might have been expected, that in which he himself had a status, but the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Mainly at the instance of a very orthodox but not a very wise divine named Dr. Johnston, this Presbytery, after a long and fierce discussion (for it cannot be called a debate when there was really only one side), passed a vote of censure on Mr. Gilfillan, and called the attention of the Dundee Presbytery to what he had said and done. The latter, however, did not thank the sister court for informing it of its duty, and the result was that, when it met to consider Mr. Gilfillan, its members occupied themselves far more with censuring their brethren at Edinburgh for their officious interference, than with censuring for his heresies the errant brother in their midst. Moreover, many men, more prudent though perhaps not more honest than Dr. Johnston, observed that to enter upon a theological discussion might endanger the bark of union then struggling as best it might with Gibson and

Begg breakers. For these two reasons, the Dundee Presbytery showed a strong determination to hush up Mr. Gilfillan and his case, and a remarkable willingness to accept a vague explanation, which by no exercise of ingenuity could be construed into a recantation of error, and which he has since in the press distinctly declared to be the reverse of a recantation. Thus Mr. Gilfillan got off scot-free, declaring with perfect truth that he had gained a little for independent thought—although probably it would have mattered nothing to him if he had had to endure a little mild martyrdom ; as an expatriated spiritualism and *littérateur*, he would be far more notorious, and, from a pecuniary point of view, might be better situated than merely as one of the United Presbyterian ministers of Dundee. As it is, he possesses an influence not less valuable in its own way than that of Wallace or Hanna. He affects minds whom their culture is beyond, and whom they are too fastidious even to seek to conciliate. Thus the leaven of latitudinarianism and freedom of thought threatens to leaven the whole lump of Presbyterianism, and woe betide Presbyterianism if it does not so leaven it !\*

We have in the above classification alluded to the leading clerical types of Presbyterian Scotland. At the same time there are many men who cannot properly be placed in any of the classes we have mentioned, who yet have set their mark upon Scotland and the Churches to which they belong. It would be impossible to say, for example, that Dr. Candlish, whose name every one that has heard of the Free Church has also heard of, is either an earnest or a practical man, a bigot or a moderate ; and he himself has, in the most emphatic manner, eschewed everything of the character of Liberalism and latitudinarianism. He has neither the bigotry of Begg nor the caution of Buchanan, and yet he possesses more influence than either, simply by his

\* The progress of the United Presbyterian Church in Liberalism is further proved by what is known as the " Dalkeith Heresy Case," which has attracted much public interest since the above was written. A young clergyman in Dalkeith, named the Rev. Fergus Ferguson, who three years ago gained some notoriety and strong condemnation from the public press for himself by an attack he made upon Burns and Burns' celebrations, was lately accused of heresy by a member of his Kirk-session before the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Edinburgh, of which he is a member. It was alleged that he had from the pulpit advocated the salvability of the heathen, which the Confession of Faith declares to be a pernicious doctrine. The upshot of the case in the Presbytery was that Mr. Ferguson was acquitted of the charge, being cautioned to express his opinions more clearly, and to speak only on safe subjects in future, but not before he had delivered a most remarkable speech, in which, with much energy and sarcasm, he denounced the Christianity of the time, and particularly the preaching which the fettering and safe policy recommended by his Presbytery would produce, and called upon them to

strong individuality. He is recognised as being the ablest man in the Free Church, and if Dr. Buchanan is its Antonelli, he may be said to be, not its Pio Nono, but its Hildebrand. He is not only an able platform speaker and party leader, but one of the very few theologians whom Scotland now produces, his work on the Fatherhood of God having provoked favourable criticism from all quarters, and even from Bishop Colenso, although it is but fair to Dr. Candlish to say that he has repudiated the kindly remarks of the great heresiarch. Dr. Candlish is distinguished rather by the intensity than by the comprehensiveness or fairness of his judgment. Although he is never weak, he is on many points narrow; and acerbity of temper mars an otherwise rather fascinating nature. With all his faults, the Free Church could ill miss the ability of Dr. Candlish, unquestionately the ablest of her living ministers, the principal of her leading theological college, and the man who, after Dr. Chalmers, is mainly responsible for her existence.

Of another type, and in many respects more in sympathy with the spirit of the times, is Dr. Cairns, beyond all question the most capable man in the United Presbyterian Church. Dr. Cairns made his reputation as the best student of his year at Edinburgh under Sir William Hamilton, then at the zenith of his fame as a teacher of philosophy, and he has since maintained that reputation, not so much by the production of original works on metaphysics, as by maintaining a philosophical tone in, and imparting an aroma of philosophic culture to whatever he says and writes. Entering the United Presbyterian Church, he has been looked upon as a godsend to a body in which high scholarship and catholic culture are very rare. There, shining alone and *facile princeps*, he has done good service to the cause of

“recognise the fact that we are assuredly adrift upon a period of boundless transition; that the sooner we get clear of dogmatic icebergs the better; and that nothing can save us but the possession of living ideas, a more generous appreciation of the Providence of God, and a fuller embrace of the Gospel of Christ in its glorious freeness, amplitude, and impartiality.” In the same address he said, “It is my opinion that countless multitudes of the heathen world will crowd into the Kingdom of Heaven while the Scribes and Pharisees of Christendom will be cast out.” This is a distinct statement of the “salvability of the heathen,” the doctrine which the Confession, as we have already said, describes as “pernicious.” Yet an attempt, made in May of this year, to carry the matter further by bringing Mr. Ferguson’s so-called heresies before the Synod, the chief court of the United Presbyterian body, has ended, not only in the persecution being quashed, through Mr. Ferguson signing several ambiguous, or, to use the clerical phrase, “convenient” propositions regarding the points on which he was suspected to be unsound, but in his chief persecutor, the elder already alluded to, being at once censured for his obtrusive orthodoxy and virtually excommunicated by the enraged Synod.

progress, not so much by actually espousing that cause, as by maintaining a liberality of tone and temper in regard to all things, from the organ to the Decalogue, that come under the notice of the Church. He does at least as much good by his negative attitude as a non-obscurantist, as does Gilfillan by his actual onslaught on the Westminster Confession of Faith. He is in favour of the proposed union with the Free Church, mainly, it is supposed, because he thinks it will produce greater liberality of opinion throughout Scotland. His impression is or seems to be that the larger the ecclesiastical body the wider must be its creed. This may be so, but it seems in the meantime far from likely. On the contrary, it is the opinion and the wish of the leading promoters of union in the Free Church that that union will have a totally different effect, that a strong ecclesiastical body will, simply in virtue of its strength, have greater power to enforce its creed, and to disregard, if not suppress, men who, like Tulloch and Gilfillan, rise above creeds. And we suspect that, after all, Dr. Buchanan is nearer the mark than Dr. Cairns.

An account of the ecclesiastical state of Scotland having especial reference to its ecclesiastics would be incomplete which did not make some reference to Dr. Norman Macleod. Dr. Macleod is widely known as the highly popular minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow, and Chaplain to the Queen, and still more widely as the genial editor of *Good Words*, one of the most successful and best written of our cheap monthly magazines. In sympathy he is as much a liberal as Lee or Hanna. He was one of the most active defenders of the former during his struggle with his opponents, and has all along been one of the chief promoters of what may be called the organ or musical improvement movement. An able and singularly eloquent utterance of his on the subject of the Decalogue and the part that Sunday observance ought to play in Christian life some years ago fluttered timid and conservative thinkers, and only very recently, speaking as Moderator of the Assembly, he recommended liturgical reform, and the modification or simplification of creeds. At the same time he seems to be not a little deficient in courage. He virtually recanted a good deal of what he said on the subject of the Decalogue from considerations of self-interest, or in deference to the opinions of brethren around him, and since that memorable explosion, he has been in a negative rather than in a positive way a supporter of the Liberal movement. He gives his main strength now apparently to the supporting of the Foreign Missions of the Church. Recently he was sent to India to further the interests and prospects of the Church there, and since his return he has been occupied almost entirely in detailing his Asiatic experiences with that humane and forcible eloquence of which he is so great a master,



in the General Assembly, at various meetings of his fellow-countrymen, and finally in the pages of *Good Words*. Although this is work which cannot and ought not to be considered useless or evil in itself, it is nevertheless inferior in kind to that which he might have entered on had he devoted his high talents and eloquence to liberalizing and reforming his Church. He cannot therefore be placed in the foremost rank of the Scottish clergy. Still, in his own way, and in the columns of *Good Words*, he upholds Liberalism after a fashion. Whatever he writes is brimful of the milk of human kindness and is untainted with bigotry, and moreover he invariably writes in a way which cannot fail to fascinate readers, and above all Scotch readers. Some of his writings, such as "Wee Davie," deal entirely and very pleasantly with some of the lights and shades of humble life in Scotland, and have consequently been extremely popular; indeed, there can be little doubt that were he to devote himself to the writing of Scotch fiction he would have few if any rivals. As it is, there is no clergyman more popular in Scotland, on account of his genial nature, his eloquence, his kindly humour, and, perhaps we should add, the favour in which he is held at Court, than Dr. Norman Macleod, and his influence is unquestionably for good. He may preach a merely genial and after-dinner sort of Liberalism, but even that is better than none.

We have thus completed our survey of the clerical side of Scottish Presbyterian life. We have endeavoured to point out the deficiencies of that life, so far as they show themselves to the eye, and the causes of these deficiencies. We have also endeavoured to show from descriptions of their types what Scottish clergymen of the present day are, particularizing also those above and beyond type, and we have now to say that the only hope of Scottish clergy being in the future what they ought to be, and what to no small extent their predecessors were, the only chance of their being really the spiritual instructors of the nation, lies, as Dr. Wallace says, "in making the Church doctrinally comprehensive, so that, by embracing as much as possible of the national religious life, it may meet the righteous demands of religious equality." Unless the clergy are made an "institute of free religious thinkers," they must degenerate until they lose all influence over the nation. Creeds have been tried for three centuries and have unquestionably failed. The vision of an army of free thinkers instructing a nation is indeed a magnificent one. The question with Dr. Wallace, and the question of the future is, Are these clergy to be supported by the State, or are they not? Their support by the State would, it is argued, guarantee to them a competence sufficient to make them independent of their flocks, and would enable them to pursue and publish their theo-

logical researches unchecked. It is notorious that many Voluntary ministers are far too subservient to their congregations, and especially to the wealthier, more influential, and more officious members of them. It is also matter of general remark that in Scotland, as in England, the clergy of the Established Church are superior in point of culture and refinement to their Voluntary rivals, about whom there is more or less strong an odour of vulgarity. While theoretically a great deal can be said for the support of the "clerisy" by the State, it seems certain that the days are past for the realization of such a theory. So many difficulties would attend the re-endowment, which, according to this theory, would follow the disestablishment of the Church, that the country in its present impatient and eminently destructive mood is scarcely prepared to seek out the best method of overcoming them. It sees the manifest unfairness of one particular sect being endowed, but it is not prepared to enter upon the elaborate work of re-adjusting the relation between the State and religious teachers. Voluntaryism presents the easiest and most practicable method of getting rid of the present uncomfortable situation. By "leveling down," it places all sects on the same footing, and thus it satisfies the claims of religious equality. To say that Voluntaryism will have its own, is unquestionably a very safe prediction. But before we can make any very reliable calculation regarding the future of Churches or religion in Scotland, we must take into consideration the attitude of the laity.

Like priests, like people, is one of those few popular axioms the general truth of which history testifies to, and we might, with perfect safety, classify Scotch laymen, as we have already classified Scotch clergymen, as earnest, practical (and liberal or conservative), moderate, and broad. There are to be found among the laity men who are as fanatically attached to the faith of '43, and as fiercely opposed to Roman Catholicism as Dr. Gibson and Dr. Begg, some who are as fond of manœuvring in the Church courts as Dr. Buchanan and Dr. Charteris, and others who are fervent admirers, followers, and coadjutors of Dr. Wallace and Dr. Tulloch. Our purpose, however, will be as well served by simply dividing the laity into two classes: those who are attached, and those who are unattached to particular religious denominations.

At first sight the former class would appear enormously to preponderate over the latter in numbers and influence. The churches in Scotland are, as has been already indicated, better filled than churches in any other country in Europe. It is considered utterly disrespectable not to attend church at all; he is looked upon with great suspicion who attends only one service; and it is a mark of a thoroughly good young man to attend three

times. This fashion of church attendance is, however, to be accounted for by a variety of reasons. For one thing, in Scotland more than in any other country in Europe, religion has been identified with patriotism. The struggles of the Reformation and Restoration periods were struggles not only against Popery and Prelacy, but against England. Probably had Episcopacy been allowed to make its way in Scotland in the usual way, and had attempts not been made to impose it by English dragoons, it might not have been the plant of sickly growth that it is at the present time. It is to a certain extent patriotic, and the mark of a true Scotsman, to attend regularly the Church of his fathers. Moreover, the memory of the persecutions which the covenanting Presbyterians suffered at the hands of their opponents is still fresh; it is only two hundred years since they were hunted from cave to cave, and had to meet on the hillside for public worship, the Bible in the one hand and the sword in the other. What the Covenanters did and said—and no unprejudiced reader of history, however much he may admire them, will refuse to admit that they committed both in speech and writing many mistakes—has, on account of these sanctifying sufferings, come to be looked upon in many districts of Scotland as inferior, in sacredness and authority, only to the contents of the Scriptures themselves. Hence irregular attendance upon these ordinances of religion for which their fathers fought and bled, is considered on the part of Scotsmen of the present day as a proof not only of irreligious tendencies, but of heartless ingratitude. Further, as noticed in the beginning of this paper, a large number of Scotsmen have a personal proprietary interest in their clergy and Churches. This can be said, of course, chiefly of those Churches which are either practically, or both theoretically and practically, Voluntary; and in which laymen, from their being the chief, if not the only supporters of the ministers and ecclesiastical buildings, have necessarily very great influence. To a certain extent, also, laymen have at the present time considerable influence in the Church of Scotland, and promise to have even more. For that Church, although established and endowed, has to depend for the support of the supplementary churches which circumstances have forced it to erect, on the wealth and munificence of the laity, and to that extent, consequently, is voluntary. Thus a certain class of laymen have come to have considerable influence. Wealthy, friends of the Church, in the sense of giving her their money, and being able to devote a considerable amount of time to her business, they are found representing her equally with the clergy. Such gentlemen, for example, as Messrs. Baird, who have given their money to the Endowment Scheme, and their time to the promotion of such an Education Bill as will

satisfy the clerical party in Scotland, are looked up to with a respect closely approaching to reverence. The Church enthusiasm of such men occasionally takes peculiar forms. We have before us, for example, a paper by one of the members of the same Baird family, the iron millionaires of Scotland, entitled "Notes of some Alterations suggested as likely to lead to more Efficiency and Success in the conducting of the Work of the Established Church of Scotland." These suggestions contemplate nothing less than a sweeping reform, or rather a revolution, in the whole management of the Church, embracing the abolition of every existing form of patronage, and the appointment of a circuit court, composed of clergymen and laymen, for examining and licensing all students, and indeed for managing all the important business of the Church. Here, for example, is one of the suggestions: "Fix an age at which a minister must retire from his charge; providing also that he must retire sooner, if from infirmity he shall fail to discharge efficiently the duties of his office, in both cases with a retiring allowance. After a minister has been two years in a place, and his Church is not occupied on the average at each diet by at least one-third as many as it is rented for, let there be an end to his incumbency unless it appear to the satisfaction of the circuit court that there is good reason for a further trial." This is thoroughly a tradesman's view of the clerical profession. Let a clergyman be paid by results; if he fills his Church, he is fit for his post; if he does not, he is a failure. To any one who does not look at things from the purely commercial point of view, it is perfectly clear that no Church can be saved by a plan like that of the Messrs. Baird. It is internal, not external reform that is required. The formation of the Order of Jesus, although it improved the machinery of Roman Catholic propagandism, has not saved the temporal power; nor will it stave off the evil day which the proclamation of the dogma of Infallibility has only shown to be near at hand. The Church of Scotland might, although that is in the highest degree improbable, be saved from disestablishment and destruction by the widening or abolition of its creed, but never by a circuit court.

Although the different Churches rank among their supporters a large number of people who are adherents generally from custom, from the dull uninquiring Conservatism which stands for belief, and from commercial reasons, the number of those who are attached to any particular denomination is growing less and less every day. We have already alluded to some of the influences which have caused many of the more intelligent Scotch artisans to leave the Churches, and the same or similar influences have had their effect upon the country at large. In the large towns, where the ecclesiastical Mrs. Grundy has not so great an in-



fluence, or can be more easily eluded, there are to be found large numbers of young men who are attached to no particular Church, and have indeed no definite religious belief. If they read or think on theological subjects, or subjects more or less connected with theology, their literature is almost certain to be of the Maurice and Martineau type; and not unfrequently will you stumble on clubs and coteries of the "New Philosophy;" men who have studied under Professor Bain of Aberdeen, or drunk deep of the fountain of Spencer. These young men, most of whom, as may be supposed, belong to the "learned professions," either attend no church at all, or attend the ministrations of that clergyman with whose preaching they can most sympathize. In Edinburgh they will listen to a sermon from Dr. Wallace or Dr. Lindsay Alexander; in Glasgow they attend Dr. Macleod or Dr. Pulsford. Such men they may respect, admire, and even, to a certain extent, follow, but for the system to which they belong, they have nothing but contempt. They consider Presbyterian Churches to be, in point of culture and thought, far behind the times, and indeed as places in which an antiquated theology is taught without feeling and without intelligence to "stolid peasants and superstitious women;" the clergy they look upon as partially hypocrites, but mainly dull men whose function in life it seems to be to live on 300*l.* a year, dine out, and arrive at the weight of fourteen stone; who never think, and read only antiquated newspapers. Be their opinions right or wrong, unquestionably they have already considerable influence, and will have more when the owners of them are spread, as they undoubtedly will be, in the course of their professional wanderings over the country. Thus the leaven of free religious thought may in time leaven the whole of Scotland.

Another lay influence on the side of freedom and catholicity of thought, and against the Church, is that of the Scottish press. The great majority of the leading newspapers are either silent regarding the ecclesiastical and theological questions which agitate the country, or openly espouse the liberal side, and even the *Edinburgh Courant*, the only Tory daily newspaper in Scotland, does not advocate bigotry of any kind; the ecclesiastical Conservatism it preaches is not that of Dr. Gibson, but that of Hegel. In the latter of these categories are to be found the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald*, which are beyond all doubt the leading organs of popular opinion in the country. The former, which is Liberal in all things, has gained for itself a special reputation for its ecclesiastical articles, in which bigotry and illiberalism of every kind are handled with great freedom, humour, and force, and sympathy is emphatically expressed with men who, like the Liberal leaders in the Church of Scotland, seek to

emancipate Presbyterianism from the fetters which bind her; the latter, which is Conservative in some respects, represents with much fidelity and success the abhorrence with which men of refinement and sensibility regard the petty bigotries of ultra-Presbyterianism. Nor is the discussion of these questions confined to the leading-article columns of these journals; in the space allotted to correspondence, laymen are to be found arguing the *pros* and *cons* of the ecclesiastical questions of the day. What is known as the "Sabbath question" is the favourite subject of discussions of this order, and indeed it threatens to be the rock upon which Calvinism will split. The ultra-Presbyterian view of the Sabbath—for the true-blue Presbyterian is "Calvino Calvinior"—is absolutely impossible of fulfilment. To spend the whole of the first day of the week in the public and private exercises of Divine worship, as is enjoined by the Westminster Confession of Faith, is what no man is, even physically, capable of, and what few men in Scotland attempt to do, as the walking on Sunday, now all but universal in Scotland, clearly proves. Yet a section of Presbyterians, in which Dr. Gibson and the more consistent of the Free Church people are prominent, endeavour to do or rather to get others to do what is impossible, to square the ecclesiastical circle. They preach and protest against Sunday trains; the reports of their ecclesiastical meetings positively groan with statistics of what they call Sabbath desecration (a genuine Presbyterian never uses the word Sunday either as a substantive or as an adjective); Dr. Gibson, more logical, as already mentioned, than the rest of his class, even preaches and speaks against Sunday cabs and Sunday dinners; and the Free Assembly actually went the length, a year or two ago, of excommunicating a compositor for attending to his business on Sunday. But, outside of the Free Church body, and of Dr. Gibson's section of it, and especially among laymen, such views of the Sabbath are looked upon with positive abhorrence, and that repugnance is freely and fully expressed by letters in the newspapers, and even more so, if that is possible, by the manner in which, according to Dr. Gibson, the Sabbath is not kept. Perhaps also the repugnance of the more intelligent of the laity to the Calvinistic view of the Sunday, may be accounted for to a certain extent by the coarse manner in which that view is sometimes put. To quote from Dr. Wallace:—"Several years ago, in the heat of certain Sabbatarian discussions, a cab was driven leisurely through the most crowded streets of Edinburgh, covered, as is done during Parliamentary and municipal elections, with huge placards, behind and on the sides of which was inscribed, in glaring capitals, the motto, 'Give God his day.' This appeal, putting very tersely the Sabbatarian theory, would certainly not be recognised by the

intelligence of Scotland as expressing their reasons for keeping Sunday. They do so chiefly, not because they suppose themselves bound to pay a tax of fourteen to fifteen per cent. to the Deity, but because they believe the institution to be a valuable one." If the Sabbatarian theory is so repulsive to ordinary Scotch intelligence, it must be all the more so to that higher intelligence which, after all, leads the country. And rebellion on one point of Scotch Calvinism leads, as was only to be expected, to rebellion on other points; the man who has questioned the Presbyterian theory of the Fourth Commandment, soon comes to question things of far more importance. Although there is a great difference between the Sabbath question and that of creeds in general, the unsettling of opinion on the one often leads to the unsettling of opinion on the other. This has always been characteristic of Scotch religious movements. The Scotch people, although highly sceptical, are slow to move in religious matters, but when they are impelled to act, they do so with a vengeance, and in a radical manner unknown south of the Tweed. The Reformation in Scotland was, as almost every one knows, something very different from the quiet transition from Roman Catholicism to Anglicanism known as the Reformation in England. Scotland vaulted at once from Cardinal Beaton to John Knox; from aristocratic High Churchism to Presbyterian democracy; from the sensuous ritual of Romanism to the very bald service that is performed at the present time in the great majority of the Churches in Scotland. The next change will probably be not less abrupt and radical; even although it be hastened not by the men who preach two sermons a week in the pulpit, but those who preach daily in the press.

Thus Scotland is becoming in things ecclesiastical more liberal, if not by means of the clergy, in spite of them and through the laity. That, even in these days of daily papers and the decline of sacerdotal influence, Scotland would prefer that the inevitable change should be effected by the clergy themselves, is what no one will doubt who knows how strong a hold they once had, and still indeed have, of the mind of the nation. It will be long before the people of Scotland forget the two centuries in which the clergy were found standing by their side opposed to the oppression of the Crown and of the aristocracy. Were Dr. Wallace's theory realized, and the Calvinistic clergy to resolve themselves into a society of free religious thinkers, whether or not retaining their present revenues and endowments, all might yet be well. Believing yet, as we have always done, that the true way to solve the great "religious difficulty" in Scotland, as in England, is to cut the chain that binds the Church to the State, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the Scotch

Voluntaries appear in the meantime unable, and certainly not willing, to assuage the craving which unquestionably exists in Scotland for greater doctrinal latitude and comprehensiveness. In their theological narrowness lies their weakness; in her ever-increasing breadth lies the Church's hope of a longer lease of life as an Establishment than she might otherwise expect. Were she to play the character of a stop-gap until ecclesiastical Voluntaryism in Scotland also become theological Liberalism, few would object to her clergy receiving State revenues for many years longer.



ART. II.—THE POETRY OF DEMOCRACY: WALT  
WHITMAN.

1. *Leaves of Grass.* Washington, D.C. 1871.
2. *Passage to India.* Washington, D.C. 1871.
3. *Democratic Vistas.* Washington, D.C. 1871.

THAT school of criticism which has attempted in recent years to connect the history of literature and art with the larger history of society and the general movement of civilizations, creeds, forms of national life and feeling, and which may be called emphatically the critical school of the present century, or the naturalist as contradistinguished from the dogmatic school, has not yet essayed the application of its method and principles to the literature and art of America. For a moment one wonderingly inquires after the cause of this seeming neglect. The New World, with its new presentations to the senses, its new ideas and passions, its new social tendencies and habits, must surely, one thinks, have given birth to literary and artistic forms corresponding to itself in strange novelty, unlike in a remarkable degree those sprung from our Old-world, and old-world hearts. A moral soil and a moral climate so different from those of Europe must surely have produced a fauna and flora other than the European, a fauna and flora which the writers of literary natural history cannot but be curious to classify, and the peculiarities of which they must endeavour to account for by the special conditions of existence and of the development of species in the new country. It is as much to be expected that poems and pictures requiring new names should be found there as that new living things of any other kind, the hickory and the hemlock, the mocking-bird and the katydid, should be found. So one reasons



for a moment, and wonders. The fact is, that while the physical conditions, fostering certain forms of life, and repressing others, operated without let or hindrance, and disclosed themselves in their proper results with the simplicity and sureness of nature, the permanent moral powers were met by others of transitory or local, but, for the time, superior authority, which put a hedge around the literature and art of America, enclosing a little paradise of European culture, refinement, and aristocratic delicatessen from the howling wilderness of Yankee democracy, and insulating it from the vital touch and breath of the land, the winds of free, untrodden places, the splendour and vastness of rivers and seas, the strength and tumult of the people. Until of late indigenous growths of the New World showed in American literature like exotics, shy or insolent. We were aware of this, and expected in an American poet some one who would sing for us gently, in a minor key, the pleasant airs we knew. Longfellow's was a sweet and characteristic note, but, except in a heightened enjoyment of the antique—a ruined Rhine castle, a goblet from which dead knights had drunk, a suit of armour, or anything frankly Mediæval—except in this, Longfellow is one of ourselves—an European. "Evangeline" is an European idyl of American life, Hermann and Dorothea having emigrated to Acadie. "Hiawatha" might have been dreamed in Kensington by a London man of letters who possessed a graceful idealizing turn of imagination, and who had studied with clear-minded and gracious sympathy the better side of Indian character and manners. Longfellow could amiably quiz, from a point of view of superior and contented refinement, his countrymen who went about blatant and blustering for a national art and literature which should correspond with the large proportions and freedom of the Republic. "We want," cries Mr. Hathaway in "Kavanagh," "a national drama, in which scope enough shall be given to our gigantic ideas, and to the unparalleled activity and progress of our people. . . . We want a national literature, altogether shaggy and unshorn, that shall shake the earth, like a herd of buffaloes, thundering over the prairies !" And Mr. Churchill explains that what is best in literature is not national but universal, and is the fruit of refinement and culture. Longfellow's fellow-countryman, Irving, might have walked arm-in-arm with Addison, and Addison would have run no risk of being discomposed by a trans-Atlantic twang in his companion's accent. Irving, if he betrays his origin at all, betrays it somewhat in the same way as Longfellow, by his tender, satisfied repose in the venerable, chiefly the venerable in English society and manners, by his quiet delight in the implicit tradition of English civility, the scarcely-felt yet everywhere influential presence of a beautiful and grave Past, and the company

of unseen beneficent associations. In Bryant, Europe is more in the background ; prairie and immemorial forest occupy the broad spaces of his canvas, but he feels pleasure in these mainly because he is not native to their influences. The mountains are not his sponsors ; there are not the unconsciousnesses between him and them which indicate kinship, nor the silences which prove entire communion. Moreover, the life of American men and women is almost absolutely unrepresented in the poetry of Bryant. The idealized Red man is made use of as picturesque, an interesting and romantic person ; but the Yaukce is prosaic as his ledger. The American people had evidently not become an object of imaginative interest to itself in the mind of Bryant.

That the historical school of criticism should not have occupied itself with American literature is then hardly to be wondered at. A chapter upon that literature until recently must have been not a criticism but a prophecy. It was this very fact, the absence of a national literature, which the historical school was called on to explain. And to explain it evident and sufficient causes were producible, and were produced. The strictly Puritan origin of the Americans, the effort imposed upon them of subduing the physical forces of the country, and of yoking them to the service of man, the occupation of the entire community with an absorbing industry, the proximity of Europe, which made it possible for America to neglect the pursuit of the sciences, literature, and the fine arts without relapsing into barbarism—these causes were enumerated by De Tocqueville as having concurred to fix the minds of the Americans upon purely practical objects. “I consider the people of the United States as that portion of the English people which is commissioned to explore the wilds of the New World ; whilst the rest of the nation enjoying more leisure, and less harassed by the drudgery of life, may devote its energies to thought, and enlarge in all directions the empire of the mind.” Besides which, before a nation can become poetical to itself, consciously or unconsciously, it must possess a distinctive character, and the growth of national as of individual character is a process of long duration in every case, of longer duration than ordinary when a larger than ordinary variety of the elements of character wait to be assimilated and brought into harmony.

In Emerson a genuine product of the soil was perhaps for the first time apparent to us. We tasted in him the flavour of strange sap, and knew the ripening of another sun and other winds. He spoke of what is old and universal, but he spoke in the fashion of a modern man, and of his own nation. His Greek head pivoted restlessly on true Yankee shoulders, and when he talked Plato he did so in a dialectical variety of Attic peculiar to

Boston.\* Lowell, at times altogether feudal and European, has also at times a trans-Atlantic air, in the earnest but somewhat vague spiritualism of his earlier poems, his enthusiasm about certain dear and dim general ideas, and more happily in a conception of the democratic type of manhood which appears in some of the poems of later years, especially in that very noble "Ode recited at the Harvard Commemoration, July 21, 1865." But taken as a whole, the works of Lowell do not mirror the life, the thoughts, and passions of the nation. They are works, as it were, of an English poet who has become a naturalized citizen of the United States, who admires the institutions, and has faith in the ideas of America, but who cannot throw off his allegiance to the old country, and its authorities.

At last steps forward a man unlike any of his predecessors, and announces himself, and is announced with a flourish of critical trumpets, as Bard of America, and Bard of democracy. What cannot be questioned after an hour's acquaintance with Walt Whitman and his "Leaves of Grass," is that in him we meet a man not shaped out of old-world clay, not cast in any old-world mould, and hard to name by any old-world name. In his self-assertion there is a manner of powerful nonchalantness which is not assumed ; he does not peep timidly from behind his works to glean our suffrages, but seems to say, "Take me or leave me, here I am, a solid and not an inconsiderable fact of the universe." He disturbs our classifications. He attracts us ; he repels us ; he excites our curiosity, wonder, admiration, love ; or, our extreme repugnance. He does anything except leave us indifferent. However we feel towards him we cannot despise him. He is "a summons and a challenge." He must be understood and so accepted, or must be got rid of. Passed by he cannot be. To English readers Whitman is already known through Mr. Conway's personal reminiscences, published in the "Fortnightly Review," through the judicious criticism of Mr. Rossetti prefixed to his volume of selections, and through other reviews, favourable and unfavourable. His critics have, for the most part, confined their attention to the personality of the man ; they have studied him, for the most part, as a phenomenon isolated from the surrounding society, the environment, the *milieu*, which has made such a phenomenon possible. In a general way it has been said that Whitman is the representative in art of American democracy, but the meaning of this has not been investigated in detail. It is purposed here to consider some of the characteristics of democratic art, and to inquire in what manner they manifest themselves in Whitman's work.

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\* "A Greek head on right Yankee shoulders."—LOWELL.

A word of explanation is necessary. The representative man of a nation is not always the nation's favourite. Hebrew spiritualism, the deepest instincts, the highest reaches of the moral attainment of the Jewish race, appear in the cryings and communings of its prophets; yet the prophets sometimes cried in the wilderness, and the people went after strange gods. American democracy is as yet but half-formed. The framework of its institutions exists, but the will, the conscience, the mature desires of the democratic society are still in process of formation. If Whitman's writings are spoken of as the poetry of American democracy, it is not implied that his are the volumes most inquired after in the libraries of New York or Boston. What one means is that these are the poems which naturally arise when a man of imaginative genius stands face to face with a great democratic world, as yet but half-fashioned, such as society is in the United States of the present day. Successive editions of his works prove that Whitman has many readers. But whether he had them now, or waited for them in years to come, it would remain true that he is the first representative democrat in art of the American Continent. At the same time he is before all else a living man, and must not be compelled to appear as mere official representative of anything. He will not be comprehended in a formula. No *view* of him can image the substance, the life and movement of his manhood, which contracts and dilates, and is all over sensitive and vital. Such views are, however, valuable in the study of literature, as hypotheses are in the natural sciences, at least for the collocation of facts. They have a tendency to render criticism rigid and doctrinaire; the critic must therefore ever be ready to escape from his own theory of a man, and come in contact with the man himself. Every one doubtless moves in some regular orbit, and all aberrations are only apparent, but what the precise orbit is we must be slow to pronounce. Meanwhile we may legitimately conjecture, as Kepler conjectured, if only we remain ready as Kepler was to vary our conjectures as the exigencies of the observed phenomena require.

A glance at the art of an aristocratic period will inform us in the way of contrast of much that we may expect to find under a democracy. And before all else we are impressed by the great regard which the artists of an aristocratic period pay to form. The dignity of letters maintains itself, like the dignity of the court, by a regulated propriety of manners. Ideas and feelings cannot be received unless they wear the courtly costume. Precise canons applicable to the drama, the ode, the epic, to painting, sculpture, architecture, music, are agreed upon, and are strictly enforced. They acquire traditional authority, the precedents of a great period of art (such, for example, as that of



Louis XIV.), being final and absolute with succeeding generations. "Style is deemed of almost as much importance as thought. . . . The tone of mind is always dignified, seldom very animated, and writers care more to perfect what they produce than to multiply their productions."\* The peril to which an aristocratic literature is hereby exposed is of a singular kind ; matter or substance may cease to exist, while an empty and elaborately studied form, a variegated surface with nothing below it, may remain. This condition of things was actually realized at different times in the literatures of Italy, of Spain, of France, and of England, when such a variegated surface of literature served for disport and display of the wits of courtiers, of ingenious authors, of noble and gentle persons male and female, and when reflection and imagination had ceased to have any relation with letters.

Again, the literature of an aristocracy is distinguished by its striving after selectness, by its exclusive spirit, and the number of things it proscribes. This is especially the case with the courtly art which has a great monarchy for its centre of inspiration. There is an ever-present terror of vulgarity. Certain words are ineligible in poetry ; they are mean or undignified, and the things denoted by them must be described in an elegant periphrasis. Directness and vividness are sacrificed to propriety. The acquired associations of words are felt to be as important, and claim as much attention as their immediate significance, their spiritual power and personal character. In language as in life there is, so to speak, an aristocracy and a commonalty ; words with a heritage of dignity, words which have been ennobled, and a rabble of words which are excluded from positions of honour and of trust. But this striving after selectness in forms of speech is the least important manifestation of the exclusive spirit of aristocratic art. Far the greater number of men and women, classes of society, conditions of life, modes of thought and feeling, are not even conceived as in any way susceptible of representation in art which aspires to be grave and beautiful. The common people do not show themselves *en masse* except as they may follow in a patient herd, or oppose in impotent and insolent revolt the leadership of their lords. Individually they are never objects of equal interest with persons of elevated worldly station. Even Shakspeare could hardly find in humble life other virtues than a humorous honesty and an affectionate fidelity. Robin Hood, the popular hero, could not be quite heroic were he not of noble extraction, and reputed Earl of Huntingdon. In the decline of an aristocratic period, dramatic studies of individual character and the life of the peasant or

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\* "Democracy in America," vol. iii. p. 115, ed. 1840.

artisan may be made *from a superior point of view*. The literature of benevolence and piety stooping down to view the sad bodies and souls of men tends in this direction. And there are poems and novels, and paintings and sculptures, which flatter the feeling of mild benevolence. Pictures like those of Faed, in which some aged cottager, some strong delver of the earth, or searcher of the sea, some hardworked father of children, says appealingly, "By virtue of this love I exhibit towards my offspring, by virtue of the correct sense I have of the condescension of my betters, by virtue of this bit of pathos—indubitably human—in my eye, confess now *am* I not a man and a brother?"—pictures like these are produced, and may be purchased by amiable persons of the upper classes who would honour the admirable qualities which exist in humble life. But when the aristocratic period is in its strength, and especially in courtly art and literature, these condescending studies, not without a certain affection and sincerity in them, are unknown. It is as if the world were made up of none but the gently born and bred. At most rustic life is glanced at for the sake of the suggestions of pretty waywardness it may supply to the fancy of great people tired of greatness. To play at pastoral may be for a while the fashion, if the shepherds and shepherdesses are permitted to choose graceful classical names, if the crooks are dainty, and the duties of the penfold not severe, if Phyllis may set off a neat ankle with the latest shoe, and Corydon may complain of the cruel fair in the bitterness of roundel or sonnet. The middle classes, however, the *bourgeoisie*, figure considerably in one department of poetry—in the comic drama. Molière indeed, living under a stricter rule of courtliness, suffered disgrace in consequence of the introduction of so low-bred a person as the excellent M. Jourdain. But to the noble mind of our own Caroline period how rich a material of humour, inexhaustibly diverting, if somewhat monotonous in theme, was afforded by the relations of the high-born and the moneyed classes. The *bourgeois* aping the courtier, the lord making a fool of the merchant, while he makes love to the merchant's wife and daughter—what unextinguishable laughter have variations upon these elementary themes compelled from the occupants of the boxes in our Restoration theatres! There is an innocence quite touching in their openness to impressions from the same comic effects repeated again and again. Harlequin still at the close of the pantomime belabouring Pantaloon is not more sure of his success with the wide-eyed on-lookers in the front row than was the gallant engaged in seducing the draper's or hosier's pretty wife with gold supplied by her husband, in the playhouses favoured by our mirthful monarch and his companions.

All that is noblest in an aristocratic age embodies itself not in its comedy, but its serious art, and in the persons of heroic men and women. Very high and admirable types of character are realized in the creations of epic and dramatic poetry. All the virtues which a position of hereditary greatness, dignity, and peril calls forth—energy of character, vigour of will, disregard of life, of limb, and of property in comparison with honour, the virtues of generosity, loyalty, courtesy, magnificence—these are glorified and illustrated in man ; and in woman all the virtues of dependence, all the graces insensibly acquired upon the surface of an externally beautiful world, and at times the rarer qualities called forth by occasional exigencies of her position, which demand virtues of the masculine kind. It is characteristic and right that our chief chivalric epic, the "*Faerie Queene*," should set before itself as the general end of all the book "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline." The feudal world with *Artegall* and *Calidore*, with *Britomart* and *Una*, was not wanting in lofty conceptions of human character, male and female.

Other characteristics of the art of an aristocratic period may be briefly noted. It is not deeply interested in the future, it gazes forward with no eyes of desire. Why should it? when nothing seems better than that things should remain as they are, or at most that things should be ameliorated, not that a new world should be created. The aristocratic society exists by inheritance, and it hopes from to-morrow chiefly a conserving of the good gifts handed down by yesterday and to-day. Its feeling of the continuity of history is in danger of becoming formal and materialistic ; it does not always perceive that the abandonment of old things and the acceptance of new may be a necessary piece of continuity in government, in social life, in art, in religion. At the present the artist of the period of aristocracy looks not very often, and then askance upon certain approved parts of the Present. But he loves to celebrate the glories of the Past. He displays a preference accordingly for antique subjects, chosen out of the history of his own land, or the histories of deceased nations. Shelley with his eyes fixed upon the golden age to come may stand as representative of the democratic tendency in art ; Scott, celebrating the glories of feudalism, its heroism and its refinements, will remain our great aristocratic artist of the period subsequent to the first French Revolution. The relation of the art to the religion of an age of aristocracy is peculiarly simple. The religious dogma which constitutes the foundation and formative principle of the existing society must have been fully established, and of supreme power, before the aristocratic form of social and political life can have acquired

vigour and stability ; the intellectual and moral habits favoured by the aristocratic polity—loyalty, obedience, veneration for authority, pride in the past, a willingness to accept things as they come to us from our fathers, a distrust of new things, all favour a permanence of belief. The art, therefore, will upon the whole (peculiar circumstances may of course produce remarkable exceptions) be little disturbed by the critical or sceptical spirit, and, untroubled by doubts, that art will either concern itself not at all with religion, or, accepting the religious dogma without dispute, will render it into artistic form in sublime allegory and symbol, and as it is found embodied in the venerable history of the Church. We may finally note from De Tocqueville the shrinking in an aristocratic society from whatever, even in pleasure, is too startling, violent, or acute, and the especial approval of choice gratifications, of refined and delicate enjoyments.

Now in all these particulars the art of a democratic age exhibits characteristics precisely opposite to those of the art of an aristocracy. Form and style modelled on traditional examples are little valued. No canons of composition are agreed upon or observed without formal agreement. No critical dictator enacts laws which are accepted without dispute, and acquire additional authority during many years. Each new generation, with its new heave of life, its multitudinous energies, ideas, passions, is a law to itself. Except public opinion, there is no authority on earth above the authority of a man's own soul, and public opinion being strongly in favour of individualism, a writer is tempted to depreciate unduly the worth of order, propriety, regularity of the academic kind ; he is encouraged to make new literary experiments as others make new experiments in religion ; he is permitted to be true to his own instincts, whether they are beautiful instincts or the reverse. The appeal which a work of art makes is to the nation, not to a class, and diversities of style are consequently admissible. Every style can be tolerated except the vapid, everything can be accepted but that which fails to stimulate the intellect or the passions.

Turning to Whitman, we perceive at once that his work corresponds with this state of things. If he had written in England in the period of Queen Anne, if he had written in France in the period of the *grand monarque*, he must have either acknowledged the supremacy of authority in literature and submitted to it, or on the other hand revolted against it. As it is, he is remote from authority, and neither submits nor revolts. Whether we call what he has written verse or prose, we have no hesitation in saying that it is no copy, that it is something uncontrolled by any model or canon, something which takes whatever shape it possesses directly from the soul of its maker. With the Bible, Homer, and

Shakspeare familiar to him, Whitman writes in the presence of great models, and some influences from each have doubtless entered into his nature ; but that they should possess authority over him any more than that he should possess authority over them, does not occur to him as possible. The relation of democracy to the Past comes out very notably here. Entirely assured of its own right to the Present, it is prepared to acknowledge fully the right of past generations to the Past. It is not hostile to that Past, rather claims kinship with it, but also claims equality, as a full-grown son with a father :—

“ I conn’d old times ;  
 I sat studying at the feet of the great masters :  
 Now, if eligible, O that the great masters might return and study  
     me !  
 In the name of These States, shall I scorn the antique ?  
 Why These are the children of the antique, to justify it.  
 Dead poets, philosophers, priests,  
 Martyrs, artists, inventors, governments long since,  
 Language-shapers on other shores,  
 Nations once powerful, now reduced, withdrawn or desolate,  
 I dare not proceed till I respectfully credit what you have left,  
     wafted hither :  
 I have perused it, own it is admirable (moving awhile among it) ;  
 Think nothing can ever be greater,—nothing can ever deserve more  
     than it deserves ;  
 Regarding it all intently a long while,—then dismissing it,  
 I stand in my place, with my own day, here.”

It is the same thought which finds expression in the following enumeration of the benefactors of the soul of man in Whitman’s prose essay “ Democratic Vistas ;” after which enumeration, they are dismissed, and a summons is sent forth for the appearance of their modern successors :—

“ For us along the great highways of time, those monuments stand—those forms of majesty and beauty. For us those beacons burn through all the nights. Unknown Egyptians, graving hieroglyphs ; Hindus with hymn and apothegm and endless epic ; Hebrew prophet, with spirituality, as in flashes of lightning, conscience, like red-hot iron, plaintive songs and screams of vengeance for tyrannies and enslavement ; Christ, with bent head, brooding love and peace, like a dove ; Greek, creating eternal shapes of physical and esthetic proportion ; Roman, lord of satire, the sword, and the codex ;—of the figures some far-off and veiled, others nearer and visible ; Dante, stalking with lean form, nothing but fibre, not a grain of superfluous flesh ; Angelo, and the great painters, architects, musicians ; rich Shakspeare, luxuriant as the sun, artist and singer of Feudalism in its sunset, with all the gorgeous colours, owner thereof, and using them at will ; and so to such as German Kant and Hegel, where they, though near us,



leaping over the ages, sit again impassive, imperturbable, like the Egyptian gods. Of these, and the like of these, is it too much, indeed, to return to our favourite figure, and view them as orbs and systems of orbs, moving in free paths in the spaces of that other heaven, the kosmic intellect, the Soul?

“Ye powerful and resplendent ones! ye were in your atmospheres, grown not for America, but rather for her foes, the Feudal and the old—while our genius is Democratic and modern. Yet could ye, indeed, but breathe your breath of life into our New World’s nostrils—not to enslave us, as now, but for our needs, to breed a spirit like your own—perhaps (dare we to say it?) to dominate, even destroy, what you yourselves have left! On your plane, and no less, but even higher and wider, will I mete and measure for our wants to-day and here. I demand races of orbic bards, with unconditional, uncompromising sway. Come forth, sweet democratic despots of the west!”

As in all else, so with regard to the form of what he writes, Walt Whitman can find no authority superior to himself, or rather to the rights of the subject which engages him. There is, as Mr. Rossetti has observed, “a very powerful and majestic rhythmical sense” throughout his writings, prose and verse (if we consent to apply the term *verse* to any of them), and this rhythmical sense, as with every great poet, is original and inborn. His works, it may be, exhibit no perfect crystal of artistic form, but each is a menstruum saturated with form in solution. He fears to lose the instinctive in any process of elaboration, the vital in anything which looks like mechanism. He does not write with a full consciousness of the processes of creation, nor does any true poet. Certain combinations of sound are preconceived, and his imagination excited by them works towards them by a kind of reflex action, automatically. His *ars poetica* is embodied in the precept that the poet should hold himself passive in presence of the material universe, in presence of society, in presence of his own soul, and become the blind yet unerringly guided force through which these seek artistic expression. No afterthought, no intrusion of reasoning, no calculating of effects, no stepping back to view his work is tolerated. The artist must create his art with as little hesitation, as little questioning of processes, and as much sureness of result as the beaver builds his house. Very nobly Whitman has spoken on this subject, and let those who, because they do not know him, suppose him insensible to any attractions in art except those of the extravagant, the incoherent, and the lawless, read what follows from the preface to “Leaves of Grass:”—

“The art of art, the glory of expression, and the sunshine of the light of letters is simplicity. Nothing is better than simplicity—nothing can make up for excess, or for the lack of definiteness. To carry on the heave of impulse, and pierce intellectual depths, and give



all subjects their articulations, are powers neither common nor very uncommon. But to speak in literature with the perfect rectitude and insouciance of the movements of animals, and the unimpeachableness of the sentiment of trees in the woods, and grass by the roadside, is the flawless triumph of art. If you have looked on him who has achieved it, you have looked on one of the masters of the artists of all nations and times. You shall not contemplate the flight of the grey-gull over the bay, or the mettlesome action of the blood-horse, or the tall leaning of sunflowers on their stalk, or the appearance of the sun journeying through heaven, or the appearance of the moon afterward, with any more satisfaction than you shall contemplate him. The greatest poet has less a marked style, and is more the channel of thoughts and things without increase or diminution, and is the free channel of himself. He swears to his art. . . . What I tell I tell for precisely what it is. Let who may exalt, or startle, or fascinate, or soothe, I will have purposes as health, or heat, or snow has, and be as regardless of observation."

Seeing much of deep truth in this, it must be added that, when the poet broods over his half-formed creation, and fashions it with divine ingenuity, and gives it shapeliness and completion of detail, and the lustre of finished workmanship, he does not forsake his instincts, but is obedient to them; he does not remove from nature into a laboratory of art, but is the close companion of nature. The vital spontaneous movement of the faculties, far from ceasing, still goes on like "the flight of the grey-gull over the bay," while the poet seeks after order, proportion, comeliness, melody—in a word beauty; or rather, as Whitman himself is fond of saying, does not seek but is sought—the perfect form preconceived but unattained, drawing the artist towards itself with an invincible attraction. An artist who does not yield to the desire for perfect order and beauty of form, instead of coming closer to nature is really forsaking nature, and doing violence to a genuine artistic instinct. Walt Whitman, however, knows this in all probability well enough, and does not need to be taught the mysteries of his craft. We will not say that his poems, as regards their form, do not, after all, come right, or that for the matter which he handles his manner of treatment may not be the best possible. One feels, as it has been well said, that although no counting of syllables will reveal the mechanism of the music, the music is there, and that "one would not for something change ears with those who cannot hear it." Whitman himself anticipates a new theory of literary composition for imaginative works, and especially for highest poetry, and desires the recognition of new forces in language, and the creation of a new manner of speech which cares less for what it actually realizes in definite form than "for impetus and effects, and for what it plants and invigorates to grow." Nevertheless, when we

read not the lyrical portions of Whitman's poetry, but what may be called his poetical statements of thoughts and things, a suspicion arises that if the form be suitable here to the matter, it must be because the matter belongs rather to the chaos than the kosmos of the new-created world of art.

The principle of equality upon which the democratic form of society is founded, obviously opposes itself to the exclusive spirit of the aristocratical polity. The essential thing which gives one the freedom of the world is not to be born a man of this or that rank, or class, or caste, but simply to be born a man. The literature of an aristocratic period is distinguished by its aim at selectness, and the number of things it proscribes; we should expect the literature of a democracy to be remarkable for its comprehensiveness, its acceptance of the persons of all men, its multiform sympathies. The difference between the President and the Broadway mason or hodman is inconsiderable—an accident of office; what is common to both is the inexpressibly important thing, their inalienable humanity. Rich and poor, high and low, powerful and feeble, healthy and diseased, deformed and beautiful, old and young, man and woman, have this in common, and by possession of this are in the one essential thing equal, and brethren one of another. Even between the virtuous man and the vicious the difference is less than the agreement; they differ by a quality, but agree by the substance of their manhood. The *man* in all men, however it may be obscured by cruel shocks and wrenches of life which distort, by long unnatural uses which deform, by ignorance, by the well-meaning stupidity of others, or by one's own stupidity, by foul living, or by clean, hard, worldly living, is surely somewhere discoverable. How can any human creature be rejected, any scorned, any mocked? Such satire and such comedy as appear in aristocratic society are discouraged by the genius of democracy. The spirit of exclusiveness will, it is true, never fail to find material for its support, and baser prides may replace the calm, conservative, but unaggressive pride of hereditary dignity. Nevertheless it remains no less true that the spectacle of a great democracy present to the imagination, and the temper of the democracy accepted by the understanding heart, favour only such prides as are founded on nature—that is, on the possession, acquired or inherited, of personal qualities, personal powers, and virtues, and attainments.

If this be a true account of some characteristics of the art which arises when a man of imaginative genius stands face to face with a great democracy, Walt Whitman in these particulars is what he claims to be, a representative democrat in art. No human being is rejected by him, no one slighted, nor would he

judge any, except as "the light falling around a helpless thing" judges. No one in his poems comes appealing "Am I not interesting, am I not deserving, am I not a man and a brother?" We have had, he thinks, "ducking and deprecating about enough." The poet studies no one from a superior point of view. He delights in men, and neither approaches deferentially those who are above him, nor condescendingly gazes upon those who are beneath. He is the comrade of every man, high and low. His admiration of a strong, healthy, and beautiful body, or a strong, healthy, and beautiful soul, is great when he sees it in a statesman or a savant; it is precisely as great when he sees it in the ploughman or the smith. Every variety of race and nation, every condition in society, every degree of culture, every season of human life, is accepted by Whitman as admirable and best, each in its own place. Working men of every name—all who engage in fieldwork, all who toil upon the sea, the city artisan, the woodsman and the trapper, fill him with pleasure by their presence; and that they are interesting to him not in a general way of theory or doctrine (a piece of the abstract democratic creed), but in the way of close, vital human sympathy appears from the power he possesses of bringing before us with strange precision, vividness, and nearness in a few decisive strokes the essential characteristics of their respective modes of living. If the strong, full-grown working man wants a lover and comrade, he will think Walt Whitman especially made for him. If the young man wants one, he will think him especially the poet of young men. Yet a rarer and finer spell than that of the lusty vitality of youth, or the trained activity of manhood, is exercised over the poet by the beautiful repose or unsubdued energy of old age. He is "the caresser of life, wherever moving." He does not search antiquity for heroic men and beautiful women; his own abundant vitality makes all the life which surrounds him a source of completest joy; "what is commonest, cheapest, nearest, easiest, is Me . . . not asking the sky to come down to my good-will; scattering it freely for ever." Let a few passages illustrate Whitman's joyous sympathy with men:—

"I have perceiv'd that to be with those I like is enough,  
 To stop in company with the rest at evening is enough,  
 To be surrounded by beautiful, curious, breathing, laughing flesh is  
     enough,  
 To pass among them, or touch any one, or rest my arm ever so  
     lightly round his or her neck for a moment—what is this,  
     then?  
 I do not ask any more delight. I swim in it, as in a sea."

"The big doors of the country barn stand open and ready;  
 The dried grass of the harvest-time loads the slow-drawn wagon;

The clear light plays on the brown grey and green intertinged ;  
 The armfuls are pack'd to the sagging mow.  
 I am there, I help, I came stretch'd atop of the load ;  
 I felt its soft jolts, one leg reclined on the other ;  
 I jump from the cross beams, and seize the clover and timothy,  
 And roll head over heels, and tangle my hair full of wisps."

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"The negro holds firmly the reins of his four horses, the block swags  
 underneath on its tied-over chain ;  
 The negro that drives the dray of the stone-yard, steady and tall he  
 stands, pois'd on one leg on the string-piece ;  
 His blue shirt exposes his ample neck and breast, and loosens over  
 his hip-band ;  
 His glance is tall and commanding, he tosses the slouch of his hat  
 away from his forehead ;  
 The sun falls on his crispy hair and moustache, falls on the black of  
 his polish'd and perfect limbs.  
 I behold the picturesque giant, and love him."

The following loses much by being removed from its place at  
 the end of the poem of "Faces," which it closes with calm  
 melodious chords :—

"The old face of the mother of many children !  
 Whist ! I am fully content.  
 Lull'd and late is the smoke of the First-day morning,  
 It hangs low over the rows of trees by the fences,  
 It hangs thin by the sassafras, the wild-cherry, and the cat-brier  
 under them.  
 I saw the rich ladies in full dress at the soirée,  
 I heard what the singers were singing so long,  
 Heard who sprang in crimson youth from the white froth and the  
 water-blue.  
 Behold a woman !  
 She looks out from her quaker-cap—her face is clearer and more  
 beautiful than the sky.  
 She sits in an arm-chair, under the shaded porch of the farmhouse,  
 The sun just shines on her old white head.  
 Her ample gown is of cream-hued linen ;  
 Her grandsons raised the flax, and her grand-daughters spun it with  
 the distaff and the wheel.  
 The melodious character of the earth,  
 The finish beyond which philosophy cannot go, and does not wish  
 to go,  
 The justified mother of men."

But it is not those alone who are beautiful and healthy and  
 good who claim the poet's love. To all "the others are down  
 on" Whitman's hand is outstretched in help, and through him  
 come to us the voices—petitions or demands—of the diseased

and despairing, of slaves, of prostitutes, of thieves, of deformed persons, of drunkards. Every man is a divine miracle to him, and he sees a *redeemer*, whom Christ will not be ashamed to acknowledge a comrade, in every one who performs an act of loving self-sacrifice :—

“Three scythes at harvest whizzing in a row, from three lusty angels  
with shirts bagged out at their waists ;

The snag-tooth'd hostler with red hair redeeming sins past and to  
come,

Selling all he possesses, travelling on foot to fee lawyers for his  
brother, and sit by him while he is tried for forgery.

Is there no limit to the poet's acceptance of the persons of men ? There is one test of his tolerance more severe than can be offered by the vicious or the deformed. Can he tolerate the man of science ? Yes, though he were to find him peeping and botanizing upon his mother's grave. Science and democracy appear before Whitman as twin powers which bend over the modern world hand in hand, great and beneficent. Democracy seems to him that form of society which alone is scientifically justifiable ; founded upon a recognition of the facts of nature, and a resolute denial of social fables, superstitions, and uninvestigated tradition. Moreover he looks to science for important elements which shall contribute to a new conception of nature and of man, and of their mutual relations, to be itself the ideal basis of a new poetry and art—“after the chemist, geologist, ethnologist, finally shall come the Poet worthy that name ; the true Son of God shall come singing his songs.” Lastly, Whitman has a peculiar reason of his own for loving science ; he is a mystic, and such a mystic as finds positive science not unacceptable. Whitman's mysticism is not of the Swedenborgian type. He beholds no visions of visible things in heaven or hell unseen to other men. He rather sees with extraordinary precision the realities of our earth, but he sees them, in his mystical mood, as symbols of the impalpable and spiritual. They are hieroglyphs most clear-cut, most brilliantly and definitely coloured to his eyes, but still expressive of something unseen. His own personality as far as he can give it expression or is conscious of it—that identity of himself, which is the hardest of all facts and the only entrance to all facts, is yet no more than the image projected by another ego, the real *Me*, which stands “untouched, untold, altogether unreachd :”—

“Withdrawn far, mocking me with mock-congratulatory signs and  
bows,

With peals of ironical laughter at every word I have written,

\* \* \* \* \*



Now I perceive I have not understood anything—not a single object; and that no man ever can.  
 I perceive Nature, here in sight of the sea, is taking advantage of me, to dart upon me, and sting me,  
 Because I have dared to open my mouth to sing at all.”

To such mysticism science cannot succeed in opposing itself; it can but provide the mystic with a new leaf of the sacred writing in which spiritual truths are recorded. Note the pregnant parenthesis in the following:—

“Gentlemen! [men of science] to you the first honours always.  
 Your facts are useful and real, and yet they are not my dwelling;  
 (I but enter by them into an area of my dwelling.)”

If Whitman seems suspicious of any class of men, disposed to be antagonistic to any, it is to those whose lives are spent among books, who are not in contact with external nature, and the stir and movement of human activity, but who receive things already prepared, or, as Whitman expresses it, “distilled.” He knows that the distillations are delightful, and would intoxicate himself also, but he will not let them. Rather he chooses to “lean and loaf at his ease, observing a spear of summer grass,” to drink the open air (that is, everything natural and unelaborated); he is “enamoured of growing out-doors.” At the same time his most ardent aspiration is after a new literature, accordant with scientific conceptions, and the feelings which correspond with democracy. And to the literature of the old world and of feudalism he willingly does justice. “American students may well derive from all former lands, . . . from witty and warlike France, and markedly, and in many ways, and at many different periods, from the enterprise and soul of the great Spanish race, bearing ourselves always courteous, always deferential, indebted beyond measure to the mother-world, to all its nations dead, as to all its nations living—the offspring, this America of ours, the daughter not by any means of the British Isles exclusively, but of the Continent, and of all continents.” True culture and learning Whitman venerates; but he suspects men of refinement and polite letters and dainty information, the will-o’-the-wisps of Goethe’s “Mährchen,” who “lose themselves in countless masses of adjustments,” who end by becoming little better than “supercilious infidels,” whose culture, as Carlyle long since observed, is of a “sceptical-destructive” kind.

Men of every class then are interesting to Whitman. But no individual is pre-eminently interesting to him. His sketches of individual men and women, though wonderfully vivid and precise, are none of them longer than a page; each single figure



passes rapidly out of sight, and a stream of other figures of men and women succeeds. Even in "Lincoln's Burial Hymn" he has only a word to say of "the large sweet soul that has gone;" the chords of his nocturn, with their implicated threefold sweetness, odour and sound and light, having passed into his strain, really speak not of Lincoln but of death. George Peabody is celebrated briefly, because through him, "a stintless, lavish giver, tallying the gifts of earth," a multitude of human beings have been blessed, and the true service of riches illustrated. No single person is the subject of Whitman's song, or can be; the individual suggests a group, and the group a multitude, each unit of which is as interesting as every other unit, and possesses equal claims to recognition. Hence the recurring tendency of his poems to become catalogues of persons and things. Selection seems forbidden to him; if he names one race of mankind the names of all other races press into his page; if he mentions one trade or occupation, all other trades and occupations follow. A long procession of living forms passes before him; each several form, keenly inspected for a moment, is then dismissed. Men and women are seen *en masse*, and the mass is viewed not from a distance, but close at hand, where it is felt to be a concourse of individuals. Whitman will not have the people appear in his poems by representatives or delegates; the people itself, in its undiminished totality, marches through his poems, making its greatness and variety felt. Writing down the headings of a Trades' Directory is not poetry; but this is what Whitman never does. His catalogues are for the poet always, if not always for the reader, *visions*—they are delighted—not perhaps delightful—enumerations; when his desire for the perception of greatness and variety is satisfied, not when a really complete catalogue is made out, Whitman's enumeration ends; we may murmur, but Whitman has been happy; what has failed to interest our imaginations has deeply interested his; and even for us the impression of multitude, of variety, of equality is produced, as perhaps it could be in no other way. Whether Whitman's habit of cataloguing be justified by what has been said, or is in any way justifiable, such at least is its true interpretation and significance.

One can perceive at a glance that these characteristics of Whitman's work proceed directly from the democratic tendencies of the world of thought and feeling in which he moves. It is curious to find De Tocqueville, before there existed properly any native American literature, describing in the spirit of philosophical prophecy what we find realized in Whitman's "Leaves of Grass":—

"He who inhabits a democratic country sees around him, on every

hand, men differing but little from each other ; he cannot turn his mind to any one portion of mankind without expanding and dilating his thought till it embraces the whole world . . . . The poets of democratic ages can never take any man in particular as the subject of a piece, for an object of slender importance, which is distinctly seen on all sides, will never lend itself to an ideal conception. . . . As all the citizens who compose a democratic community are nearly equal and alike, the poet cannot dwell upon any one of them ; but the nation itself invites the exercise of his powers. The general similitude of individuals which renders any one of them, taken separately, an improper subject of poetry, allows poets to include them all in the same imagery, and to take a general survey of the people itself. Democratic nations have a clearer perception than any other of their own aspect ; and an aspect so imposing is admirably fitted to the delineation of the ideal."

The democratic poet celebrates no individual hero, nor does he celebrate himself. "I celebrate myself," sings Whitman, and the longest poem in "Leaves of Grass" is named by his own name ; but the self-celebration throughout is celebration of himself as a man and an American ; it is what he possesses in common with all others that he feels to be glorious and worthy of song, not that which differentiates him from others ; manhood, and in particular American manhood, is the real subject of the poem "Walt Whitman ;" and although Whitman has a most poignant feeling of personality, which indeed is a note of all he has written, it is to be remembered that in nearly every instance in which he speaks of himself the reference is as much impersonal as personal. In what is common he finds what is most precious. The true hero of the democratic poet is the nation of which he is a member, or the whole race of man to which the nation belongs. The mettlesome, proud, turbulent, brave, self-asserting young Achilles, lover of women and lover of comrades of Whitman's epic, can be no other than the American people ; his Ulysses, the prudent, the 'cute, the battler with the forces of nature, the traveller in sea-like prairie, desolate swamp, and dense forest is brother Jonathan. But if the American nation is his hero, let it be observed that it is the American nation as the supposed leader of the human race, as the supposed possessor in ideas, in type of character, and in tendency if not in actual achievement of all that is most powerful and promising for the progress of mankind.

To the future Whitman looks to justify his confidence in America and in democracy. The aspect of the present he finds both sad and encouraging. The framework of society exists ; the material civilization is rich and fairly organized. Without any transcendentalism or political mysticism about the principle of

universal suffrage, not glossing over its "appalling dangers," and for his own part content that until its time were come self-government should wait, and the condition of authoritative tutelage continue, he yet approves the principle as "the only safe and preservative one for coming times," and sees in America its guardian. He dwells with inexhaustible delight upon certain elements in the yet unformed personal character of the average American man and woman. And his experience, and the experience of the nation during the civil war—proving the faithfulness, obedience, docility, courage, fortitude, religious nature, tenderness, sweet affection of countless numbers of the unnamed, unknown rank and file of North and South—practically justifies democracy in Whitman's eyes "beyond the proudest claims and wildest hopes of its enthusiasts." But at the same time no one perceives more clearly, or observes with greater anxiety and alarm, the sore diseases of American society; and leaving us to reconcile his apparently contradictory statements he does not hesitate to declare that the New World democracy, "however great a success in uplifting the masses out of their sloughs, in materialistic development, products, and in a certain highly deceptive superficial popular intellectuality, is so far an almost complete failure in its social aspects, in any superb general personal character, and in really grand religious, moral, literary, and æsthetic results." A vast and more and more thoroughly appointed body Whitman finds in the American world, and little or no soul. His senses are flattered, his imagination roused and delighted by the vast movement of life which surrounds him, its outward glory and gladness, but when he inquires, What is behind all this? the answer is of the saddest and most shameful kind. The following passage is in every way, in substance and in manner, highly characteristic of Whitman; but the reader must remember that in spite of all that he discerns of evil in democratic America, Whitman remains an American proud of his nationality, and a believer who does not waver in his democratic faith :—

"After an absence, I am now (September, 1870,) again in New York City and Brooklyn, on a few weeks' vacation. The splendour, picturesqueness, and oceanic amplitude and rush of these great cities, the unsurpassed situation, rivers and bay, sparkling sea-tides, costly and lofty new buildings, the façades of marble and iron, of original grandeur and elegance of design, with the masses of gay colour, the preponderance of white and blue, the flags flying, the endless ships, the tumultuous streets, Broadway, the heavy, low, musical roar, hardly ever intermitted even at night; the jobbers' houses, the rich shops, the wharves, the great Central Park, and the Brooklyn Park of Hills (as I wander among them this beautiful fall weather, musing, watching, absorbing)—the assemblages of the citizens in their groups, conversations, trade, evening amusements, or along the by-quarters—these, I

say, and the like of these, completely satisfy my senses of power, fullness, motion, &c., and give me, through such senses and appetites, and through my æsthetic conscience, a continued exaltation and absolute fulfilment. Always, and more and more, as I cross the East and North rivers, the ferries, or with the pilots in their pilot-houses, or pass an hour in Wall Street, or the gold exchange, I realize (if we must admit such partialisms) that not Nature alone is great in her fields of freedom, and the open air, in her storms, the shows of night and day, the mountains, forests, seas—but in the artificial, the work of man too is equally great—in this profusion of teeming humanity, in these ingenuities, streets, goods, houses, ships—these seething, hurrying, feverish crowds of men, their complicated business genius (not least among the geniuses), and all this mighty, many-threaded wealth and industry concentrated here.

“But sternly discarding, shutting our eyes to the glow and grandeur of the general effect, coming down to what is of the only real importance, Personalities, and examining minutely, we question, we ask, Are there, indeed, *Men* here worthy the name? Are there athletes? Are there perfect women, to match the generous material luxuriance? Is there a pervading atmosphere of beautiful manners? Are there crops of fine youths and majestic old persons? Are there arts worthy Freedom, and a rich people? Is there a great moral and religious civilization—the only justification of a great material one?”

“Confess that rather to severe eyes, using the moral microscope upon humanity, a sort of dry and flat Sahara appears, these cities, crowded with petty grotesques, malformations, phantoms, playing meaningless antics. Confess that everywhere in shop, street, church, theatre, bar-room, official chair, are pervading flippancy and vulgarity, low cunning, infidelity—everywhere the youth puny, impudent, foppish, prematurely ripe—everywhere an abnormal libidinousness, unhealthy forms, male, female, painted, padded, dyed, chignoned, muddy complexions, bad blood, the capacity for good motherhood deceasing or deceased, shallow notions of beauty, with a range of manners, or rather lack of manners (considering the advantages enjoyed) probably the meanest to be seen in the world.”

Such a picture of the outcome of American democracy is ugly enough to satisfy the author of “Shooting Niagara—and after?” but such a picture only represents the worse side of the life of great cities. Whitman can behold these things, not without grief, not without shame, but without despair. He does not unfairly contrast the early years of confusion and crudity of a vast industrial and democratic era with the last and perfected results of an era of feudalism and aristocracy. He finds much to make him sad; but more to make him hopeful. He takes account of the evil anxiously, accurately; and can still rejoice. Upon the whole his spirit is exulting and prompt in cheerful action; not self-involved, dissatisfied, and fed by indignation. Contrast with the passage given above Whitman’s preface to “Leaves of Grass”



prefixed to Mr. Rossetti's volume of Selections, with its joyous confidence and pride in American persons and things, or that very noble poem "A Carol of Harvest, for 1867," in which the armies of blue-clad conquering men are seen streaming North, and melt away and disappear, while in the same hour the heroes reappear, toiling in the fields, harvesting the products, glad and secure under the beaming sun, and under the great face of Her, the Mother, the Republic, without whom not a scythe might swing in security, "not a maize-stalk dangle its silken tassels in peace." If all enthusiasm about political principles be of the nature of *Schwärmerei*, Whitman's feeling towards the Republic deserves that name ; but he would have the principles of democracy sternly tested by results,—results not only present but prospective and logically inevitable, and he has faith in them not because they seem to him to favour freedom any more than because they seem to favour law and self-control, and security, and order. He, as much as Mr. Carlyle, admires "disciplined men," and believes that with every disciplined man "the arena of *Anti-Anarchy*, of God-appointed *Order* in this world" is widened ; but he does not regard military service as the type of highest discipline, nor the drill-sergeant as highest conceivable official person in the land.

The principle of political and social equality once clearly conceived and taken to heart as true, works outward through one's body of thought and feeling in various directions. If in the polity of the nation every citizen be entitled by virtue of the fact of his humanity to make himself heard, to manifest his will, and in his place to be respected, then in the polity of the individual man, made up of the faculties of soul and body, every natural instinct, every passion, every appetite, every organ, every power, may claim its share in the government of the man. If a human being is to be honoured as such, then every part of a human being is to be honoured. In asserting one's rights as a man, one asserts the rights of everything which goes to make up manhood. It is the democratic temper to accept realities unless it is compelled to reject them ; to disregard artificial distinctions, and refer all things to natural standards, consequently to honour things because they are natural, and exist. Thus we find our way to the centre of what has been called the "materialism" of Whitman—his vindication of the body as it might be more correctly termed. Materialist, in any proper sense of the word, he is not ; on the contrary, as Mr. Rossetti has stated, "he is a most strenuous assertor of the soul," but "with the soul, of the body, as its infallible associate and vehicle in the present frame of things." And as every faculty of the soul seems admirable and sacred to him, so does every organ and function and natural act of the body. But Whitman is a poet ; it is not his manner to preach

doctrines in an abstract form, by means of a general statement ; and the doctrine, which seems to him of vital importance, that a healthy, perfect body—male or female—is altogether worthy of honour, admiration, and desire is accordingly preached with fulness and plainness of detail. The head of his offending with many who read, and who refuse to read him, lies of course here. That lurking piece of asceticism, not yet cast out of most of us, which hints that there is something peculiarly shameful in the desire of the sexes for one another, of the man for the woman, and of the woman for the man, will certainly find matter enough of offence in one short section of “*Leaves of Grass*,” that entitled “*Children of Adam*.” And one admission must be made to Whitman’s disadvantage. If there be any class of subjects which it is more truly natural, more truly human *not* to speak of than to speak of (such speech producing self-consciousness, whereas part of our nature, it may be maintained, is healthy only while it lives and moves in holy blindness and unconsciousness of self), if there be any sphere of silence, then Whitman has been guilty of invading that sphere of silence. But he has done this by conviction that it is best to do so, and in a spirit as remote from base curiosity as from insolent licence. He deliberately appropriates a portion of his writings to the subject of the feelings of sex, as he appropriates another, “*Calamus*,” to that of the love of man for man, “*adhesiveness*,” as contrasted with “*amateness*,” in the nomenclature of Whitman, comradeship apart from all feelings of sex. That article of the poet’s creed, which declares that man is very good, that there is nothing about him which is naturally vile or dishonourable, prepares him for absolute familiarity, glad, unabashed familiarity with every part and every act of the body. The ascetic teaching of many Mediæval writers is unfavourable to morality by its essential character : Whitman’s may become unfavourable by accident. “*As to thy body, thou art viler than muck. Thou wast gotten of so vile matter, and so great filth, that it is shame for to speak, and abomination for to think. Thou shalt be delivered to toads and adders for to eat.*” “*If thou say that thou lovest thy father and thy mother because thou art of their blood and of flesh gotten, so are the worms that come from them day by day. If thou love brethren or sisters or other kindred, because they are of the same flesh of father and mother and of the same blood, by the same reason should thou love a piece of their flesh, if it be shorn away.*” “*All other sins [but wedlock] are nothing but sins, but this is a sin, and besides denaturalizes thee, and dishonours thy body. It soileth thy soul, and maketh it guilty before God, and moreover defileth thy flesh.*” \* These were the

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\* Quotations from the “*Mirror of S. Edmund*” and “*Hali Meidenhead*,” published by the Early English Text Society.



views of pious persons of the thirteenth century. Here the body and the soul are kept in remote severance, each one the enemy of the other. Such spirituality, condemned alike by the facts of science and by the healthy natural human instincts, is seen by Whitman to be, even in its modern modifications, profoundly immoral. The lethargy of the soul induces it willingly to take up under some form or another with a theory which directs it heavenwards on the swift wings of devotional aspiration, rather than heavenwards for joy, but also earthwards for laborious duty, to animate, to quicken, to glorify all that apart from it is dull and gross. Both directions of the soul are declared necessary to our complete life by Whitman—the one in solitude, the other in society.

“Only in the perfect uncontamination and solitariness of individuality may the spirituality of religion positively come forth at all. Only here, and on such terms, the meditation, the devout ecstasy, the soaring flight. Only here, communion with the mysteries, the eternal problems, whence? whither? Alone, and identity, and the mood,—and the soul emerges, and all statements, churches, sermons, melt away like vapours. Alone, and silent thought, and awe, and aspiration,—and then the interior consciousness, like a hitherto unseen inscription, in magic ink, beams out its wondrous lines, to the sense. Bibles may convey, and priests expound, but it is exclusively for the noiseless operation of one’s isolated self, to enter the pure ether of veneration, reach the divine levels, and commune with the unutterable.”

Then the soul can return to the body, and to the world, and possess them, and infuse its own life into them :—

“I sing the Body electric ;  
The armies of those I love engirth me, and I engirth them ;  
They will not let me off till I go with them, respond to them,  
And disconcert them, and charge them full with the charge of  
the Soul.”

Having acknowledged that Whitman at times forgets that the “instinct of silence,” as it has been well said, “is a beautiful, imperishable part of nature,” and consequently that Whitman in a few passages falls below humanity, falls even below the modesty of brutes, everything has been acknowledged, and it ought not to be forgotten that no one asserts more strenuously than does Whitman the beauty, not indeed of asceticism, but of holiness or healthiness, and the shameful ugliness of unclean thought, desire, and deed. If he does not assert holiness as a duty, it is because he asserts it so strongly as a joy and a desire, and because he loves to see all duties transfigured into the glowing forms of joys and of desires. The healthy repose and continence, and the healthy eagerness and gratification of appetite, are equally sources of satisfaction to him. If in some of his lyrical passages there

seems entire self-abandonment to passion, it is because he believes there are, to borrow his own phrase, "native moments," in which the desires receive permission from the supreme authority, conscience, to satisfy themselves completely :—

"From the master—the pilot I yield the vessel to ;  
The general commanding me, commanding all—from him permission taking."

Whitman's most naked physical descriptions and enumerations are those of a robust, vigorous, clean man, enamoured of living, unashamed of body as he is unashamed of soul, absolutely free from pruriency of imagination, absolutely inexperienced in the artificial excitements and enhancements of jaded lusts. "I feel deeply persuaded," writes one of Whitman's critics who has received the impression of his mind most completely and faithfully,\* "that a perfectly fearless, candid, ennobling treatment of the life of the body (so inextricably intertwined with, so potent in its influence on the life of the soul), will prove of inestimable value to all earnest and aspiring natures, impatient of the folly of the long prevalent belief that it is because of the greatness of the spirit that it has learned to despise the body, and to ignore its influences ; knowing well that it is, on the contrary, just because the spirit is not great enough, not healthy and vigorous enough, to transfuse itself into the life of the body, elevating that and making it holy with its own triumphant intensity ; knowing too how the body avenges this by dragging the soul down to the level assigned itself. Whereas the spirit must lovingly embrace the body, as the roots of a tree embrace the ground, drawing thence rich nourishment, warmth, impulse. Or rather the body is itself the root of the soul—that whereby it grows and feeds. The great tide of healthful life that carries all before it must surge through the whole man, not beat to and fro in one corner of his brain. 'O the life of my senses and flesh, transcending my senses and flesh.' For the sake of all that is highest, a truthful recognition of this life, and especially of that of it which underlies the fundamental ties of humanity—the love of husband and wife, fatherhood, motherhood—is needed."

The body then is not given authority over the soul by Whitman. Precisely as in the life of the nation a great material civilization seems admirable to him and worthy of honour, yet of little value in comparison with or apart from a great spiritual civilization, a noble national character, so in the life of the in-

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\* "A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman." From late letters by an English Lady to W. M. Rossetti. "The Radical," May, 1870.

dividual all that is external, material, sensuous, is estimated by the worth of what it can give to the soul. No Hebrew ever maintained the rights of the spiritual more absolutely. But towards certain parts of our nature, although in the poet's creed their rights are dogmatically laid down, he is practically unjust. The tendencies of his own nature lead him in his preaching to sink unduly certain articles of his creed. The logical faculty, in particular, is almost an offence to Whitman. The processes of reasoning appear to him to have elaboration for their characteristic, and nothing elaborated or manufactured seems of equal reality with what is natural and has grown. Truth he feels to be, as Wordsworth has said, "a motion or a shape instinct with vital functions;" and were Whitman to seek for formal proof of such truth, he, like Wordsworth, would lose all feeling of conviction, and yield up moral questions in despair. "A slumbering woman and child convince as an university course can never convince:"

"Logic and sermons never convince,  
The damp of the night drives deeper into my soul."

Whitman becomes lyrical in presence of the imagination attempting for itself an interpretation of the problems of the world; he becomes lyrical in presence of gratified senses and desires; but he remains indifferent in presence of the understanding searching after conclusions. There is something like intolerance or want of comprehensiveness here; one's heart, touched by the injustice, rises to take the part of this patient, serviceable, despised understanding.

Whitman, as we have seen, accepts the persons of all men, but for a certain make of manhood he manifests a marked preference. The reader can guess pretty correctly from what has gone before what manner of man best satisfies the desires of the poet, and makes him happiest by his presence; and what is the poet's ideal of human character. The man possessed of the largest mass of manhood, manhood of the most natural quality, unelaborated, undistilled, freely displaying itself, is he towards whom Whitman is instinctively attracted. The heroes honoured by the art of an aristocracy are ideal, not naturalistic. Their characters are laboriously formed after a noble model, tempered as steel is tempered, welded together and wrought into permanent shape as their armour is. The qualities which differentiate them from most men are insisted upon. They are as little a growth of nature (in the vulgar sense of the word *nature*) as is a statue. Corneille's stoical heroes, for example, are the work of a great *art* applied to human character. Our true nature can indeed only be brought to light by such art processes,

but there is an art which works with nature, and another art which endeavours to supersede it. Only through culture, only through the strenuous effort to conceive things at their best, not as they are, but as they may and ought to be, only through the persistent effort to constrain them to their ideal (that is their most real) shapes, can human character and human society and the works of man become truly natural. Such art does not supersede nature, but is rather nature obtaining its most perfect expression through the consciousness of man. So declares Polixenes in *A Winter's Tale* :—

“Nature is made better by no mean,  
But nature makes that mean ; so, over that art,  
Which, you say, adds to nature, is an art  
That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry  
A gentler scion to the wildest stock ;  
And make conceive a bark of baser kind  
By bud of nobler race : This is an art  
Which does mend nature—change it rather : but  
The art itself is nature.”

Whitman has not failed to perceive this truth, but he fears that it may be abused. Meddling with nature is a dangerous process. Any idea or model, after which we attempt to shape our humanity, must proceed from some *view* of human nature, and our *views* are too often formal and contracted, manufactures turned out of the workshop of the intellect, of which the ultimate product cannot but be a formal and contracted character. But human nature itself is large and incalculable ; and, if allowed to grow unconstrained and unperverted, it will exhibit the superb vitality and the unimpeachable rectitude of the perfect animal or blossoming tree. Using *natural*, then, in the vulgar sense, there are some men more than others a part of nature ; men not modelled after an idea remote from the instincts of manhood ; vigorous children of the earth, of wholesome activity, passionate, gay, defiant, proud, curious, free, hospitable, courageous, friendly, wilful. In such men Whitman sees the stuff of all that is most precious in humanity. “Powerful uneducated persons” are the comrades he loves to consort with :—

“I am enamour'd of growing outdoors ;  
Of men that live among cattle, or taste of the ocean, or woods ;  
Of the builders and steerers of ships, and the wielders of axes and  
mauls, and the drivers of horses ;  
I can eat and sleep with them week in and week out.”

These are certainly not the persons who engage the imagination in the literature of an aristocracy.

It must not, however, be supposed that Whitman sets himself against culture. He would, on the contrary, studiously promote culture, but a culture which has another ideal of character than that grown of feudal aristocracies, and which, accepting the old perennial elements of noblest manhood, combines them "into groups, unities appropriate to the modern, the democratic, the West." No conception of manhood can be appropriate unless it be of a kind which is suitable not to the uses of a single class or caste, but to those of the high average of men. The qualities of character which are judged of most value by the democratic standard are not extraordinary, rare, exceptional qualities; the typical personality, which the culture sets before itself as its ideal, is one attainable by the average man. The most precious is ever in the common. Such a culture, Whitman holds, will be that of "the manly and courageous instincts, and loving perceptions, and of self-respect." Central in the character of the ideal man is the simple, unsophisticated Conscience, the primary moral element. "If I were asked to specify in what quarter lie the grounds of darkest dread, respecting the America of our hopes, I should have to point to this particular. . . . Our triumphant, modern Civilizee, with his all-schooling, and his wondrous appliances, will still show himself but an amputation while this deficiency remains." If Whitman appears to be antagonistic to culture, as we commonly understand or misunderstand the term, to refinement, intellectual acquisition, multiform and delicate sympathies, the critical spirit, it is "not for absolute reasons, but current ones." In our times, he believes, refinement and delicatessen "threaten to eat us up like a cancer. . . . To prune, gather, trim, conform, and ever cram and stuff, is the pressure of our days. . . . Never, in the Old World, was thoroughly upholstered Exterior Appearance and show, mental and other, built entirely on the idea of caste, and on the sufficiency of mere outside acquisition—never were Glibness, verbal Intellect more the test, the emulation—more loftily elevated as head and sample,—than they are on the surface of our Republican States this day." In antagonism to the conception of culture which bears such fruit as this, Whitman desires one which, true child of America, shall bring joy to its mother, "recruiting myriads of men, able, natural, perceptive, tolerant, devout, real men, alive and full." In like manner Whitman's portraits of models of womanly Personality—the young American woman who works for herself and others, who dashes out more and more into real hardy life, who holds her own with unvarying coolness and decorum, who will compare, any day, with superior carpenters, farmers, "and even boatmen and drivers," not losing all the while the charm, the indescribable perfume of genuine



womanhood, or that resplendent person down on Long Island, known as the Peacemaker, well toward eighty years old, of happy and sunny temperament, a sight to draw near and look upon with her large figure, her profuse snow-white hair, dark eyes, clear complexion, sweet breath, and peculiar personal magnetism—these portraits, he admits, are frightfully out of line from the imported Feudal models—"the stock feminine characters of the current novelists, or of the foreign court poems (Ophelias, Enids, Princesses, or Ladies of one thing or another), which fill the envying dreams of so many poor girls, and are accepted by our young men, too, as supreme ideals of female excellence to be sought after. But I present mine just for a change."

In the period of chivalry there existed a beautiful relation between man and man, of which no trace remains in existence as an institution—that of knight and squire. The protecting, encouraging, downward glance of the elder, experienced, and superior man was answered by the admiring and aspiring, upward gaze of the younger and inferior. The relation was founded upon inequality; from the inequality of the parties its essential beauty was derived. Is there any possible relation of no less beauty, corresponding to the new condition of things, and founded upon equality? Yes, there is manly comradeship. Here we catch one of the clearest and most often reiterated notes of Whitman's song. The feelings of equality, individualism, pride, self-maintenance, he would not repress; they are to be as great as the soul is great; but they are to be balanced by the feelings of fraternity, sympathy, self-surrender, comradeship. European Radicals have for the most part been divided into two schools, with the respective watchwords of *Equality* and *Fraternity*. Whitman expresses the sentiments of both schools, while his position as poet rather than theorist or politician, saves him from self-devotion to any such socialistic or communistic schemes, as the premature interpretation of the feeling of fraternity into political institutions has given birth to in untimely abortion. One division of "Leaves of Grass," that entitled "Calamus" (Calamus being the grass with largest and hardest spears and with fresh pungent *bouquet*), is appropriated to the theme of comradeship. And to us it seems impossible to read the poems comprised under this head without finding our interest in the poet Walt Whitman fast changing into hearty love of the man, these poems, through their tender reserves and concealments and betrayals, revealing his heart in its weakness and its strength more than any others. The chord of feeling which he strikes may be old—as old as David and Jonathan—but a fulness and peculiarity of tone are brought out, the like of which have not been heard before. For this love of man for man, as Whitman

dreams of it, or rather confidently expects it, is to be no rare, no exceptional emotion, making its possessors illustrious by its singular preciousness, but it is to be widespread, common, unnoticeable.

“ I hear it was charged against me that I sought to destroy institutions ;

But really I am neither for nor against institutions :

(What indeed have I in common with them ? Or what with the destruction of them ?)

Only I will establish in the Mannahatta, and in every city of These States, inland and seaboard,

And in the fields and woods, and above every keel, little or large, that dents the water,

Without edifices, or rules, or trustees, or any argument,

The institution of the dear love of comrades.”

In this growth of America, comradeship, which Whitman looks upon as a sure growth from seed already lying in the soil, he believes the most substantial hope and safety of the States will be found. In it he sees a power capable of counterbalancing the materialism, the selfishness, the vulgarity of American democracy—a power capable of spiritualizing the lives of American men. Many, Whitman is aware, will regard this assurance of his as a dream ; but such loving comradeship seems to him implied in the very existence of a democracy, “ without which it will be incomplete, in vain, and incapable of perpetuating itself.” In the following poem the tenderness and ardour of this love of man for man finds expression, but not its glad activity, its joyous fronting the stress and tumultuous agitation of life :—

“ When I heard at the close of the day how my name had been receiv'd with plaudits in the capitol, still it was not a happy night for me that follow'd ;

And else, when I carous'd, or when my plans were accomplished, still I was not happy ;

But the day when I rose at dawn from the bed of perfect health, refresh'd, singing, inhaling the ripe breath of autumn,

When I saw the full moon in the west grow pale and disappear in the morning light,

When I wander'd alone over the beach, and undressing, bathed, laughing with the cool waters, and saw the sun rise,

And when I thought how my dear friend, my lover, was on his way coming, O then I was happy ;

O then each breath tasted sweeter—and all that day my food nourish'd me more—and the beautiful day pass'd well,

And the next came with equal joy—and with the next, at evening, came my friend ;

And that night, while all was still, I heard the waters roll slowly continually up the shores,

I heard the hissing rustle of the liquid and sands, as directed to me,  
whispering, to congratulate me,  
For the one I love most lay sleeping by me under the same cover  
in the cool night,  
In the stillness, in the autumn moonbeams, his face was inclined  
toward me,  
And his arm lay lightly around my breast—and that night I was  
happy."

Various workings in the poems of Whitman of the influence of the principle of equality as realized in the society which surrounds him have now been traced. No portion of the poet's body of thought and emotion escapes its pervading power, and in a direct and indirect manner it has contributed to determine the character of his feeling with respect to external nature. In the way of crude mysticism Whitman takes pleasure in asserting the equality of all natural objects, and forces, and processes, each being as mysterious and wonderful, each as admirable and beautiful as every other; and as the multitude of men and women, so, on occasions, does the multitude of animals, and trees, and flowers press into his poems with the same absence of selection, the same assertion of equal rights, the same unsearchableness, and sanctity, and beauty, apparent or concealed in all. By another working of the same democratic influence (each man finding in the world what he cares to find) Whitman discovers everywhere in nature the same qualities, or types of the same qualities which he admires most in men. For his imagination the powers of the earth do not incarnate themselves in the forms of god and demi-god, faun and satyr, oread, dryad, and nymph of river and sea—meet associates, allies or antagonists of the heroes of an age, when the chiefs and shepherds of the people were themselves almost demi-gods. But the great Mother—the Earth—is one in character with her children of the democracy, who, at last, as the poet holds, have learnt to live and work in her great style. She is tolerant, includes diversity, refuses nothing, shuts no one out; she is powerful, full of vitality, generous, proud, perfect in natural rectitude, does not discuss her duty to God, never apologizes, does not argue, is incomprehensible, silent, coarse, productive, charitable, rich in the organs and instincts of sex, and at the same time continent and chaste. The grass Whitman loves as much as did Chaucer himself; but his love has a certain spiritual significance which Chaucer's had not. It is not the "soft, swete, smale grass," embroidered with flowers, a fitting carpet for the feet of glad knights and sportive ladies, for which he cares. In the grass he beholds the democracy of the fields, earthborn, with close and copious companionship of blades, each blade like every other, and equal to every other, spreading in all directions with

lusty life, blown upon by the open air, "coarse, sunlit, fresh, nutritious." The peculiar title of his most important volume, "Leaves of Grass," as Mr. Rossetti has finely observed, "seems to express with some aptness the simplicity, universality, and spontaneity of the poems to which it is applied."

The character of Whitman's feeling with respect to external nature bears witness to the joyous bodily health of the man. His communication with the earth, and sea, and skies, is carried on through senses that are never torpid, and never overwrought beyond the measure of health. He presses close to nature, and will not be satisfied with shy glances or a distant greeting. He enjoys the strong sensations of a vigorous nervous system, and the rest and recuperation which follow. His self-projections into external objects are never morbid; when he employs the "pathetic fallacy" the world shares in his joyousness; he does not hear in the voices of the waters or of the winds echoes of a miserable egotism, the moan of wounded vanity, or the crying of insatiable lust. He is sane and vigorous. But his relation with nature is not one in which the senses and perceptive faculty have a predominant share. He passes through the visible and sensible things, and pursues an invisible somewhat—

"A motion and a spirit that impels  
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,  
And rolls through all things ;"

and of this he can never quite possess himself. "There is [in his poems] a singular interchange of actuality and of ideal substratum and suggestion. While he sees men with even abnormal exactness as men, he sees them also 'as trees walking,' and admits us to perceive that the whole show is in a measure spectral and unsubstantial, and the mask of a larger and profounder reality beneath it, of which it is giving perpetual intimations and auguries."\*

In the direction of religion and philosophy there is in the democratic state of society a strong tendency, as De Tocqueville has shown, towards a pantheistic form of belief, and a strong tendency towards the spirit of optimism. The equality existing between citizens, and the habit of mind which refuses to observe the ancient artificial social distinctions, give the general intellect a turn for reducing things to unity, a passion for comprehending under one formula many objects, and reducing to one cause many and various consequences.† Where castes or classes of society exist, one caste or class seems to object singularly little to

\* W. M. Rossetti. Prefatory notice to "Poems by Walt Whitman."

† See "La Démocratie en Amérique," tome 3, chaps. vii. viii.

the perdition of the inferior breeds of the human race—"this people who knoweth not the law are cursed." The Hindú could contemplate the fate of a Mlechha, the Jew, that of a Gentile, the Mohammedan, that of a Giaur, without overwhelming concern. But when the vision of a common life of the whole human race has filled the imagination, when a real feeling of solidarity is established between all the members of the great human community, the mind seems to shrink in horror from the suspicion that the final purposes of God or nature, with respect to man, can be other than beneficent. Society, in the democratic condition, is not fixed and desirous of conservation, but perpetually moving, and men's desires (apart from the results of scientific observation) induce them to hope, to conjecture, to believe that this movement is progressive Biology and natural history with their doctrines of development and evolution, the science of origins with its surveys of the earliest history of our race seems to confirm the conviction, so flattering to men's desires, that nature and man harmoniously work under laws which tend towards a great and fortunate result. The events of the past are interpreted in the light of this conviction. Faith in the future becomes passionate, exists in the atmosphere, and obtaining nutriment from every wind, appears to sustain itself apart from all evidence—that miracle which belongs to every popular faith. The past progress of the race, the great future of the race to match the greatness of its past, the broad dealings of Providence or of natural law with mankind—when the thoughts of these, and feelings corresponding to such thoughts, have occupied the mind and heart, there appears something not only horrible, but something artificial, inconsequent, non-natural, in the notion of endless and fruitless penal suffering. And it is a noteworthy fact—the more remarkable when we bear in mind the Puritanical basis of American religion—that in the many new forms of religion which America has put forth as a tree puts forth leaves, in the many attempts towards the realization of a new conception of our relation to God and to one another, an almost constant element is the belief in the final happiness of all men.

The religious faith of Whitman, as far as it has definite form, reminds one of that taught in the Pedagogic Institution of Wilhelm Meister's *Wanderjahre*, in which from the Three Reverences inculcated, reverence for what is above us, reverence for what is around us, reverence for what is beneath us, springs the highest reverence, reverence for oneself. And with Whitman as with the Pedagogic company perfect reverence casts out fear. But he is not anxious to give his creed a precise form; he is so little interested in the exclusion of heretics that he does not require very accurate symbols and definitions.



"And I say to mankind, Be not curious about God,  
For I, who am curious about each, am not curious about God,  
(No array of terms can say how much I am at peace about God, and  
about death)."

Finding the present great and beautiful, contented with the past, but not driven into the past to seek for ideals of human character, and a lost golden age, Whitman has entire confidence in what the future will bring forth. He knows not what the purposes of life are for us, but he knows that they are good. Nowhere in nature can he find announcements of despair, or fixity of evil condition. He is sure that in the end all will be well with the whole family of men, and with every individual of it. The deformed person, the mean man, the infant who died at birth, the "sacred idiot," will certainly be brought up with the advancing company of men from whose ranks they have dropped :—

"The Lord advances, and yet advances ;  
Always the shadow in front—always the reach'd hand, bringing  
up the laggards."

At times this optimism leads Whitman to the entire denial of evil ; "he contemplates evil as, in some sense, not existing, or, if existing, then as being of as much importance as anything else ;" in some transcendental way, he believes, the opposition of God and Satan cannot really exist. Practically, however, he is not led astray by any such transcendental reducing of all things to the Divine. Any tendency of a mystical kind to ignore the distinction between good and evil, is checked by his strong democratic sense of the supreme importance of personal qualities, and the inevitable perception of the superiority of virtuous over vicious personal qualities. By one who feels profoundly that the differences between men are determined, not by rank, or birth, or hereditary name or title, but simply by the different powers belonging to the bodies and souls of men, there is small danger of the meaning of *bad* and *good* being forgotten. And Whitman never really forgets this. The formation of a noble national character, to be itself the source of all literature, art, statesmanship, is that which above all else he desires. In that character the element of religion must, according to Whitman's ideal, occupy an important place, only inferior to that assigned to moral soundness, to conscience. "We want, for These States, for the general character, a cheerful, religious fervour, imbued with the ever-present modifications of the human emotions, friendship, benevolence, with a fair field for scientific inquiry [to check fanaticism], the right of individual judgment, and always the cooling influences of material Nature." These are not the words of one who moves the landmarks of right and wrong, and obscures

their boundaries. For Whitman the worth of any man is simply the worth of his body and soul; each gift of nature, product of industry, and creation of art, is valuable in his eyes exactly in proportion to what it can afford for the benefit of body and soul. Only what belongs to these, and becomes a part of them, properly belongs to us—the rest is mere “material.” This mode of estimating values is very revolutionary, but to us it seems essentially just and moral. The rich man is not he who has accumulated unappropriated matter around him, but he who possesses much of what “adheres, and goes forward, and is not dropped by death.”

Personality, character, is that which death cannot affect. Here again Whitman's democratic feeling for personality overmasters his democratic tendency towards pantheism. He clings to his identity and his consciousness of it, and will not be tempted to surrender that consciousness in imagination by the attractions of any form of *nirvana*. Death, which is a name to him full of delicious tenderness and mystery not without some element of sensuousness curiously blended with it—(“O the beautiful touch of Death, soothing and benumbing a few moments, for reasons”), is but a solemn and immortal birth:—

“Dark Mother, always gliding near, with soft feet,  
Have none chanted for thee a chant of fullest welcome?  
Then I chant it for thee—I glorify thee above all;  
I bring thee a song that when thou must indeed come, come  
unfalteringly.”

From such indications as these, and others that have gone before, the reader must gather, as best he can, the nature of Whitman's religious faith. But the chief thing to bear in mind is that Whitman cares far less to establish propositions than to arouse energy and supply a stimulus. His pupil must part from him as soon as possible, and go upon his own way.

“I tramp a perpetual journey—(come listen all!)  
My signs are a rain-proof coat, good shoes, and a staff cut from the  
woods;  
No friend of mine takes his ease in my chair;  
I have no chair, no church, no philosophy;  
I lead no man to a dinner-table, library, or exchange;  
But each man and each woman of you I lead upon a knoll,  
My left hand hooking you round the waist,  
My right hand pointing to landscapes of continents, and a plain  
public road.”

That plain public road each man must travel for himself.

Here we must end. We have not argued the question which many persons are most desirous to put about Walt Whitman—

"Is he a poet at all?" It is not easy to argue such a question in a profitable way. One thing only need here be said,—no adequate impression of Whitman's poetical power can be obtained from this article. A single side of his mind and of his work has been studied, but we have written with an abiding remembrance of the truth expressed by Vauvenargues:—"Lorsque nous croyons tenir la vérité par un endroit, elle nous échappe par mille autres."\*

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### ART. III.—THE GENESIS OF THE FREE-WILL DOCTRINE.

*Mental and Moral Science.* By ALEXANDER BAIN, M.A.  
Chap. XI. On "Liberty and Necessity," and the "History of the Free-Will Controversy." Longmans. 1868.

**I**F ever there arrives a time in the development of any question when all has been said about it which can be said, such a point would seem to have been reached in the Free-Will controversy. For many centuries now it has been the battle-field for polemical philosophies. All the fervour of theologians has been brought to bear on both sides, and many of the mightiest intellects, which now stand as central monuments in the temple of thought, have made this issue the grand test of their speculative range and dialectic agility. Yet more, the question is not of a nature to be susceptible of much new direct illumination from the progress of human knowledge. It arises more from the peculiar complexity

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\* Since this article was begun another original voice has been heard from America. It would have been interesting to have compared, or rather contrasted (for they are far more unlike than like), the poems of Joaquin Miller with those of Whitman. Miller represents a barbaric age, and barbaric virtues, with an ancient civilization, that of Spain and Mexico, in the background. The Californian digger, the filibuster chief, the woman of the Indian tribes, are represented in the "Songs of the Sierras" as never before in American poetry. But in New York their author saw nothing except "a great place for cheap books, and a big den of small thieves." Whitman seeing this, sees also much beside this. In reading Miller's poems we are haunted by two lines of Whitman, in which his affinities with the South find expression:—

"O magnet South! O glistening, perfumed South! my South!  
O quick mettle, rich blood, impulse and love! good and evil! O all  
dear to me!"

What Whitman names here in abstractions, Miller represents embodied in the characters of individual men and women.

than from the inaccessibility of the phenomena concerned ; which complexity has led to the indistinctness of conception, and ambiguity of term by which the history of the controversy has been so eminently characterized.

The facts being so, it might seem, *prima facie*, an act of no ordinary presumption to attempt to add to the copious pre-existing stock of argument in defence of either side. To this charge, however, it could be answered that if there remain no more general features of the question to be discovered, those already exposed to view may be illustrated anew and perhaps brought out into fuller light ; whilst even if there is little of this work remaining to be done, and a decision must be made upon the facts and reasonings already presented, it may not be amiss for us in the capacity of military students to retrace the old battleground, in order to see how the fight was carried on, what position each conflicting party took up, and by what causes the fortune of the day was determined.

Let it not be thought, however, that the following essay is offered as a complete review of the controversy. It does not aim at giving the rationale of the arguments, or at estimating their logical value. It is intended as a psychological rather than a logical study : not to determine the relative force of the various considerations brought up, but to account for some peculiar notions and beliefs, the existence of which has been the main cause of both the duration and ardour of the combat. It cannot be laid to our account if in attempting this we seem so far partisans as to confine our notice to the ideas involved in one view of the subject ; for any one only slightly acquainted with the controversy must have perceived that all which was peculiar in the conceptions and opinions concerned was on one side. The supporters of the doctrine of Free-Will have, *ipso facto*, committed themselves to a theory which is not only unique, but in strongest contrast to the principles by which, confessedly, all other departments of phenomena are explained.

The peculiar belief whose origin will be here investigated is the following : that the class of phenomena known as human volitions, the voluntary acts of conscious men, are not, like the operations of all other agencies, as gravitation, light, heat, &c., subject to uniformity, and consequently a subject for scientific generalization and prediction, but are wholly irregular and unforeseeable, the acts of beings who are regarded not as uniformly determined to certain acts under certain conditions external and internal, but as capable of originating at any given moment an infinite variety of actions, whatever and whether any possible motives may at that moment present themselves to their consciousness.

We have here endeavoured to express the belief in the clearest

terms, although its supporters have rarely been so explicit in defining their expressions. We have taken no notice of the form of the doctrine by which freedom or indeterminateness is predicated of the Ego as noumenon.\* This theory, so long as it does not touch actual volitions presenting themselves to us as subjective and objective phenomena, has no scientific interest, and may be relegated to the extra-scientific realm of ontology in general. Similarly, we have not noticed as yet the usual form of this belief by which indeterminateness is predicated not of voluntary actions but of the will. For if this means anything different from what we have attempted to give as a clear statement of the belief, it must be that though volitions themselves as phenomena exhibit certain uniformities, the substance will underlying these is to be regarded as unconditioned; and this is obviously nothing but another form of the Kantian doctrine under di-guise. At the same time, in tracing the progress of the belief, references to this latter mode of viewing the subject will have to be made. The terms determinateness and indeterminateness instead of necessity and freedom, have been employed because the former confessedly express the ἀμφισβήτημα, or real issue of the dispute, while the latter are most misleading through other and irrelevant associations.

For the purpose of studying this belief as a psychological phenomenon, it will be necessary to look a little into the grounds most commonly urged in support of it. In doing this, it must be continually borne in mind that we are not judging of their logical value, but merely studying them as mental facts—clues by which we may be led into the real state of mind of those who held to the doctrine.

Now it is noteworthy that its advocates have almost uniformly posited the dogma of Free-Will as a subjective truth only, revealed by internal consciousness, and have not attempted to establish it on an objective basis, as an induction from the facts presented by our own actions and those of our fellow-beings. Although the peculiar complexity of volitional phenomena makes it a very difficult matter to prove that in all cases of voluntary action a certain prevailing motive was present which would in like circumstances produce a like result, this has not been made use of as a main point of attack by the opponents of the Causal Theory; they have, on the contrary, rested nearly all the stress of their argument on the alleged verdict of consciousness.†

\* As maintained by Kant and Fichte.

† "Ego certe mea libertate gaudebo cum et illam apud me experiar et a te nulla ratione, sed nudis tantum negationibus impregnetur."—Descartes, *Opera*. Med. IV. Dub. iii. Responsio. "We have by our constitution a natural con-



It appears to have been generally allowed that when we view voluntary actions as objective facts, a large preponderance of evidence is in favour of the induction that they conform to certain laws.\* Indeed it seems scarcely possible that any one, after a fairly careful observation of human beings acting in masses, and sustaining relations to one another involving mutual confidence, could doubt the validity of this induction, at least as an approximate generalization.† The assertion of the exemption of volition from the great laws of causation is thus seen to have sprung from an ideal source rather than from the region of facts, and to have originated in the laws of the conceptive faculty rather than in the nature of the phenomena concerned.

Having thus briefly referred to the chief grounds on which the belief has most frequently been enforced, we can now enter more minutely into the psychological causes of its intensity and persistency. These causes, as already said, we shall expect to find chiefly in the laws of the thinking faculty, although certain peculiarities in the nature of the phenomena must not be left out of the calculation. It will be convenient to treat these causes in the order in which they present themselves when we review the successive forms that the doctrine of Free-Will has assumed.

Now the first fact to be noticed as entering into this conception, is the obvious contrast which all volitional agency presents to that of the physical forces. To a primitive observer knowing only the more conspicuous departments of natural phenomena, whilst a large part of physical motions and changes would seem to depend on certain conditions, the actions of voluntary beings and of all animate creatures would appear spontaneous, undetermined and startling. That this was the actual impression we have confirmed by the fact that even the departments of physical phenomena which seemed wild and irregular (*e.g.*, those of the winds, rains and thunder) were attributed to the volition of certain deities; and the most imposing of the seemingly primeval causes, *e.g.*, the sun and the earth, were actually believed to be animated. The *ταυτόματον* of the Greek philosophers, which was

viction or belief that we act freely.”—Reid, “Active Powers,” chap. vi. “The fact of liberty may be proved from the direct consciousness of liberty.”—Sir W. Hamilton, Edition of Reid’s Works, note on “Prescience and Liberty.”

\* This doctrine it is manifest is at the very root of Kant’s theory that Freedom is postulated by the pure Practical Reason. It was recognised by Sir W. Hamilton himself, who says (*contra* Reid), “Can we conceive any act of which there was not a sufficient cause, or concurrence of causes, why the man performed it and no other?”—Edition of Reid’s Works, p. 609.

† Even without the statistical evidence on which Mr. Buckle dwells with such emphasis.

retained even by Aristotle, was the expression for all this apparently spontaneous agency. In contradistinction to the regular phenomena of the inanimate world—the effects of pressure, heat, and light, the changes of the seasons, the movements of the sun, and other observed heavenly bodies—the actions of animated creatures presented a striking irregularity, seeming to be the spontaneous creations of beings which were capable of an infinite number of varied actions. And as objective phenomena only, viewed side by side with physical actions, they certainly might seem at that early stage of speculation a class *sui generis*. For it must be remembered that just then the inquiring mind was unreservedly directed to the objective world; it had not yet begun to be conscious of itself as something distinct from that objective world and giving to the latter its meaning;\* and consequently the supposition of a uniform sequence between objective phenomena, visible actions, and subjective phenomena, volitional forces or motives, could not arise. Here then we find the first fundamental fact entering into the genesis of the Free-Will conception. While a large portion of physical phenomena, and even human actions when produced by external coercion, are at once seen to result from obvious objective causes, all voluntary actions (together with other motions of the lower animals) appear at first sight spontaneous and uncaused.

The idea soon arose, therefore, of a radical and ineffaceable distinction between the two classes. Moreover, in the case of the more special contrast between all purely voluntary and externally coerced actions of human beings, the feelings of degradation and misery associated with the latter, and those of dignity and pleasure with the former, tended to give a greater intensity to this feeling of contrast. A man coerced by another's power felt himself restricted to one mode of action, having no choice in the matter, whereas, when not so coerced, he seemed in contrast to the other state of mind to be wholly undetermined, having an indefinite variety of ways open to his choice.

Closely allied to this distinction, but not identical with it, was another between variable and uniform motions. Whilst a man's actions were of infinite variety, differing with every change in time and place, and presenting the most striking and variegated effects, the apparently equally spontaneous motions of air and fire, the growth of plants and the automatic blind habits of the lower animals, appeared, in contrast, constrained or necessitated by some unalterable law. When this distinction was recognised the

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\* "Der unterscheidende Charakter des griechischen Wesens liegt eben hierin, in jener ungebrochenen Einheit des Geistigen und des Natürlichen." Zeller, "Philosophie der Griechen," Einleitung, p. 96.

actions of animals must have been transferred to the opposite category and become contrasted with the variable, easily modifiable activity of thinking man. Aristotle recognised these along with other movements supposed to have their originating cause in themselves, such as the elements, air, fire, &c., under the name τὰ ἀπὸ φύσεως, and contrasted them with πρᾶξις, or moral action. It is clear moreover that within the domain of human action this contrast was felt to exist between habitual and passionate acts on the one hand, and the calmer more clearly motivated acts on the other. The withdrawal of the element of variety through the play of thought must have impressed the first observers as a striking feature of the former class. They would be sharply discriminated, as having less of the spontaneity and mysterious variability, from the higher voluntary acts; and since these ideas must, according to our supposition, have then formed the very essence of the conception of volition or choice, it was natural that those more automatic and unmodifiable actions should be looked on as involuntary.\* And accordingly we find Plato saying that a man carried away by the impetuosity of θυμός was really acting involuntarily and possessed by a kind of madness.† This notion is further accounted for by the previous distinction. For passionate action is commonly owing to a present and conspicuous external cause upon which it immediately succeeds; and in contradistinction to deliberate action, it seems to have a bodily rather than a mental antecedent, the passion being generally accompanied by violent and uncontrollable physical manifestations.

Thus out of the various antitheses here described there grew a conception of all rational or deliberate voluntary action as a class of phenomena in every respect unique, and superior by an immeasurable distance to all other forms of action. A sober man willing one of an indefinite number of courses of action, and doing this under no external pressure, was a sublime spectacle. In contrast to the large part of physical actions his volitions seemed uncaused by determinate antecedents—spontaneous and

\* Very similar to this distinction is another which ought not to go unnoticed. Actions performed obviously under the pressure of some present external circumstances, such as the avoidance of bodily harm, or the seizure of some tempting prize, would easily be recognised as following definite antecedents. Each observer would at once connect the act with the external stimulus, this being open to view and obviously capable of producing the effect. In contrast to these, acts proceeding from internal causes, the results of reflection and an intricate play of ideal forces, would easily be regarded as unconditioned. And this mode of viewing volitions, which is also borne out by forms of speech, may be supposed to have added another association to the idea of volition.

† Vide Timæus, p. 86, c—d. The well-known saying, κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἕκων οὐδείς, implies this principle, for κακότης was conceived as a species of furor.

unpredictable, and having all the associations of grandeur which belong to these ideas. The forms of speech common to all language show that the phenomena of voluntary human action were habitually viewed as springing from the agents themselves, who in their turn were supposed to be efficient or first causes. The only exceptions occurred when the actions were of an unusually passionate character, in which cases they were assimilated to involuntary motions, and the agent spoken of as himself acted upon and caused.\*

Such was probably the common view of the will and voluntary action which existed in more or less distinct shape before speculation began to direct itself to the mind as a special subject of study, or theological doctrines prompted inquiries into the nature of man † The principal reason for noticing in this place the theological aspect of the controversy, so far as it can be separated from the metaphysical, is for the purpose of showing how it confirms the hypothesis here adopted as to the common state of opinion in the ancient civilized world respecting the relation of voluntary to involuntary action. Upon the acceptance of a religious system teaching that a supreme being rules and controls all earthly affairs, including the destinies of mankind, there were three supposable ways in which this divine control of men could be viewed. Either it would be assimilated to the influence one man exerts upon another through his reason and will by argument, persuasion, or even by powerful inducements; or it would be regarded as analogous to the powers exerted by men over their fellows by means of coercion and irresistible restraints; or finally it might be conceived as a perfect prescience of all events, and a deliberate arrangement of human conditions so as to bring about a given effect, men being constituted nevertheless to deliberate and choose within those conditions. But, in fact, we see that the two parties in this theological dispute leant constantly to one of the first two views, the last not yet presenting itself as a possible solution. Whereas the Christian apologists of the second century (Justin Martyr, Tertullian, &c.) tend to lay stress upon the freedom of choice left to man by the Deity, and

\* Compare such expressions as "to be mastered," "carried away by passion," "to be beside oneself" (German "*äusser sich*"), and so on.

† We need scarcely remind the reader that this supposition of the successive accretions of idea about the conception of will is intended to be only approximately exact. Some vague notion of the subjective aspects of volition existed, no doubt, along with the foregoing perceptions. Only it was too germinal and indefinite to assist in shaping the general view of the process. The phenomenon was at first, it may be presumed, almost exclusively objective, and was viewed in relation to physical forces and movements.



the adaptedness of the Christian religion to this state of things, their opponents of the next centuries (St. Augustine, Aquinas, &c.), who insisted on the dogma of predestination, continually speak of the divine decrees as certain unalterable and uncounteractable laws, and so bring the divine rule into closest conformity with the coercive powers exercisable by human governors over their subjects. The reason of this will be obvious to one who has followed the above reasonings. The conception of invariable sequence between motive and act had not as yet been constructed, and the theologians were unable to entertain the idea of foreknowledge except as a case of external coercion. The ideas of individual choice and pre-arrangement by some supremely intelligent being could not coalesce with any degree of stability; and in point of fact even modern Calvinists will be found to be drifting into language borrowed from law and coercion. In other words, uniformity in mental phenomena being unrecognised, any theory of divine foreknowledge appeared to be contradictory to unimpeded choice. And whilst many accepted the legal view in its grossest form, the more refined and less severe, appalled at the consequence of making the divine being the constrainer of man even in his sinful impulses, resorted to the only alternative left them—the practical exclusion of all divine control by the mystery of its co-existence with a perfectly spontaneous self-determining will. It was reserved for later writers, amongst whom Jonathan Edwards stands conspicuous, to reconcile foreknowledge and human volition freed from external coercion by the simple expedient of recognising human choice itself as a matter of certainty and of prediction to an omniscient being.\*

But the modes of conceiving the will were not destined to remain always in this vague condition. Partly through the amount of attention concentrated upon this department of phenomena in the theological dispute, but chiefly through the progress of science and speculation by which the great fact of universal uniformity in nature began to glimmer forth to men's minds, and by which too the nature of mental phenomena became more an object of study and knowledge, the definite

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\* Mr. Maine has noticed in his "Ancient Law," chap. ix. p. 354, that it was the legal manner of viewing actions, so prevalent among the Romans and their successors in the West, which gave rise to the difficulty of Free-Will; and that no Greek-speaking people—among whom the study of law was comparatively neglected—was ever troubled by the question. This supports our own view, since the legal discipline and culture of the former had familiarized them with those ideas of coercion and extraneous necessity which are easily recognisable as the model according to which the theory of divine control was framed by the early Necessitarians.



idea of human volitions conforming to the great Law of Causation became gradually shaped and submitted for examination. If this was now to be challenged and disputed, it must be by some clearer conceptions of the indeterminateness of voluntary action than those which had heretofore sufficed. Accordingly we find a sort of new and more scientific form of the hypothesis of Free-Will, which, emerging out of the old and imperfectly apprehended theory, though it retained much of the vagueness of this first, more distinctly recognised the real issue, and sought to base itself on facts relevant to that issue. We shall now proceed to consider the elements entering into this new belief—the doctrine of an undetermined will, properly so called, which has with more or less distinctness asserted itself for several centuries, and is still held after varying degrees of independent inquiry and judgment by a large number of intelligent men.

And here it is observable that the supporters of this doctrine do not claim the alleged indeterminateness for voluntary actions so much as for a thing which is often looked upon as distinct from and superior to these—viz., the Will. They have had present to their minds not any definite actions, either past or to come, but the whole field of voluntary action regarded as one existence. To understand this we must remember that the mind has the power of abstracting from a given class of phenomena some elements common to them all, leaving out of sight other variable elements with which this is ever associated. This capacity, that lies at the foundation of all reasoning and science, has its own peculiar dangers, which have been pointed out by some of the ablest thinkers. There is traceable in the speculations of all times a tendency after the formation of such abstract conceptions to look back on the objective facts from which they have been derived through and by means of the same, so as to imagine that they correspond to independent existences instead of phases of existence always found in conjunction with other phases. This tendency to objectify mere ideas has been a fruitful source of philosophic delusions.\* It led the earlier Greek speculators to their fallacious reasonings concerning τὸ εἶναι or the objectively existing Unity, and similar projections of pure ideas into the sphere of external existence, and was the underlying motive to the whole Platonic system of objectively existing Universals. And the same tendency has had much to do with the genesis and persistence of the belief we are now considering. The contrast between voluntary and all other action was, as it has been

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\* See especially Mr. Mill's "Logic," book v. chap. iii. § 4, on Fallacies of Simple Inspection.

shown, of a nature to have very early impressed itself on men's attention. It became necessary to have a word for expressing this seemingly exceptional class of phenomena, and the term to will (*ἑθέλειν*, velle, wollen, &c.) was framed, agreeably to the view of voluntary action as the product of spontaneous agents which has been described above. Now this term, used at first by men for the common purposes of life and confined to single acts of volition, must always have conveyed distinctly the idea of superior inducement or motive, although such predominance of inducement was never viewed as a cause of the act instead of the agent himself, there being then no room for the question of the causality of voluntary actions. A man was said to will in proportion as he rationally chose the best or seemingly best of two or more possible courses. Then speculation, both pure and theological, began to touch the phenomena of volitions like all other departments. It was asked what all the actions to which the term to will was applicable had in common. But as often happens in the first rough generalizations and abstractions, a part only of the essential elements was embodied in the abstract idea. Although more attentive consideration would have shown that in all acts of volition one essential element is a superior motive or inducement in the direction of the resulting action, the one part of the phenomenon which most interested the observer was the mind's capacity to entertain different motives, to pause, deliberate, and choose upon the presentation of a variety of open courses. It was this intervention of deliberative consciousness with the presentation of numerous possible directions of action which most strikingly marked off voluntary action from all other. In a word, it was the fact of the first openness and apparent indeterminateness during deliberation, and not the final overpowering determinateness through the predominance of considerations in some particular direction, which naturally enough became the connotation of the generic name. This having happened, the tendency to give independent objective existence to mental abstractions showed itself. Voluntary action as a whole, looked back upon now through this abstract idea, came to mean simply the indeterminate, unpredictable part of the process. The necessary presence of some strongest motive or motives came to be lost to view, the generic idea preserving only the most impressive part of the phenomenon, the presentation of an indefinite number of motives and the accompanying temporary indecision. At the same time the study of the mind, carried on at first in harmony with the old metaphysical modes of thought which ascribed all phenomena to certain occult powers, called into existence the conception of an underlying substantive

power, the will, from which all single acts of volition were supposed to emanate.\*

By this new idea the obscuration of the real nature of voluntary action was completed. It served to confirm the supposition that there existed something in the mind wholly distinct from what the actual phenomena of volition present to us—a *quid incognitum*, capable of originating at any moment an indefinite number of particular volitions, which bear no necessary relations to attendant circumstances, whether external or mental. To this power were ascribed all such effects as deliberating, weighing, and choosing, whilst the constant invariable fact, the presence of some motive, which to a given individual at a given time and in given circumstances will outweigh all others—this limitation imposed on all deliberation by the nature of things was left out of sight. The will, instead of being conceived as it is now, merely as an abstraction, a sort of imaginary point where a large number of forces may at any given time, through the mechanism of thought, compound their action, was pictured as a mysterious body containing an infinite variety of forces shut up within itself, and discharging these in some utterly irregular and unaccountable way; or as a sovereign with large despotic powers who exercises those powers, none can tell wherefore, according to no discoverable principle or principles, at what seems only a wild random.

A brief study of the more modern writers who have supported the doctrine of indeterminateness in human volitions will show that this abstract conception and belief in a noumenon will over and above the phenomena of volition, has been the chief contributor to the vitality of that theory. Spinoza recognised that it was the universal will abstracted from particular volitions which was supposed to be undetermined.† But no one, as far as we know, has done so much to point out this source of the delusion as Mr. Herbert Spencer. He says—"Considered as an

\* The word will in its present common meaning of a mental faculty, a distinct part of the mind, is of comparatively modern origin. The Greek and Latin words (*βέλησις*, *voluntas*) which were of late formation, were generally used to denote the expression of the result of particular states of deliberation—the course of action willed or chosen, the avowed choice.—Cicero, *Tusc.* 4, 6, 10. It is scarcely necessary to say that, like the Greek and Latin substantives, both our own "will," and the "Wille" of the German, are of later origin than the verbs, inasmuch as they are derived from them.

† *Ostendimus enim voluntatem ens esse universale sive ideam, qua omnes singulares volitiones, hoc est, id quod iis omnibus commune est, explicamus. Quum itaque hanc omnium volitionum communem sive universalem ideam facultatem esse credant, minime mirum, si hanc facultatem ultra limites intellectus in infinitum se extendere dicant.*—"Ethica," Pars ii., Schol. to Prop. xlix.

internal perception, the illusion (of Free-Will) appears chiefly to consist in supposing that each moment the *ego* is something more than the composite state of consciousness which then exists. A man who after being subject to an impulse consisting of a group of psychical states positive and nascent performs a certain action usually asserts that he determined to perform the action, and performed it under the influence of this impulse; and by speaking of himself as having been something separate from the group of psychical states he falls into the error of supposing that it was not the impulse alone which determined the action.”\*

Besides the intellectual causes just considered, there are others which may in contradistinction be called emotional, whose influence upon the belief in the indeterminateness of voluntary action must not be here lost sight of.†

It is noticeable that writers in favour of indeterminateness are tacitly referring for the most part to unrealized, in other words, to future volitions. The sense of freedom or indeterminateness which an interrogation of personal consciousness is said by the school of Hamilton to afford, is not drawn from a review of past volitions so much as from the anticipation of future ones. Looking at past actions, either of one's self or of others, one can have no great doubt as to the presence of determining motives in at least the majority of cases. The doubt arises when one looks onward into the future. This will have been largely accounted for by previous remarks upon the nature of the abstraction, the will. Although actual cases of voluntary action manifest the presence of some determining motive, what would be that ruling consideration could hardly have been predicted in any particular case. The nature of voluntary action is so complex, that when the time for action is only a little removed from the present, there is a difficulty—except in a few classes of action where some supreme influence, such as conscience, can be counted on as constant, in precalculating which of all the elements entering into the process will prevail. And to the majority of minds inability to predict seems a mark of the absence of objective uniformity: uncertainty in its proper sense of doubt arising from ignorance comes to mean want of a uniform order in the phenomena themselves. But this uncertainty concerning the particulars in any future volition does not wholly account for the intense belief in the indeterminateness of future volition

\* “Principles of Psychology,” p. 617. This whole passage on the Free-Will notion is full of suggestion.

† The influence of the feelings upon belief is a matter of everyday observation, and has been treated with great scientific fulness and clearness by Prof. Bain. *Vide* the chapter on Belief, in “The Emotions and the Will.”

generally. The fact is, this belief is a pleasurable one to the human mind. Men like to look upon the wide region of the future as something wholly undetermined. The very love of the vague and the undefined, as appealing to the emotions of wonder and affording a scope for imagination, operates to make the conclusions of science as to the universal reign of uniformity unpalatable and obnoxious.

Besides this general emotional tendency to indulge ideas of vagueness, the conception of future volitions illustrates other influences of feeling tending no less to support the belief in Free-Will. In looking forward to our future actions, we are not making them a subject of scientific interest merely, as when for example we anticipate any sidereal phenomenon. They are objects not so much for the speculative as for the practical reason. Our volitions, although facts susceptible of scientific study and arrangement, are far more the grand means of attaining the desired ends of our life. A brief experience of life shows us that our happiness and well-being are far more conditional upon our own conduct than upon the set of circumstances into which we may happen to be born. For not only are our own actions the direct means of securing temporary ends of life, they have, even when they do not directly modify some permanent circumstance, a reflex influence upon the agent's nature. In this way a lasting result is effected by bringing that nature into more or less conformity to those constant conditions of our environment, the harmony with which constitutes the fundamental ground of a high and felicitous existence. Hence an individual in anticipating his future field of action, and being unable, as already seen, to predict what any but the immediately adjacent segments of time will evolve, is impressed with the immense value of that future as made up of indefinite possibilities of advancement in all his desired ends. His experiences have taught him that failure in the pursuit of those ends has resulted as often from the temporary superiority and dominion of other and meaner ends as from changes in external circumstances. He will consequently be inclined, when filling up in imagination a variety of possible futures, not only to construct sets of circumstances which the conditions of our earthly life scarcely warrant him in expecting, but to conceive himself as inspired by the ardour of certain lofty purposes so powerfully and exclusively as those same life conditions but rarely allow us to witness.\* The future of a man's career, to

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\* It might seem that this tendency would account directly only for the belief in future action resulting from combinations of motive influence different from any yet experienced. It does not appear to explain the expectation of future action as undetermined by any motives. The individual in these ideal



whom its past has been a conflict of ends, becomes by the touch of imagination at successive moments of anticipation idealized, sketched out vaguely in grand proportions, and tinted with warmest colours. The highest aims of life, those that occupy most thought, that revert in greatest power to the mind when removed from immediate excitation—the ideal of youth, perhaps, often obscured by objects which intercept the view of later years—will thus make use of the future as a frame for filling in pleasing and ravishing pictures.\* This indulgence in the ideal of pursuit often solaces men for the unworthiness of their actual endeavours. Accordingly they dislike to be reminded that the conditions of the future will resemble those of the past, that the limitations to human attainment which have held heretofore will hold still. The whole intensity of these paramount desires and aspirations of the mind operates to rivet the association of the ideas of unlimitedness and unconditionalness with the future; and this association will show itself in the belief held respecting future events. It is well known that after a certain strength of coherence between ideas is reached it becomes impossible to dissociate them; and to most minds indissoluble association is coextensive with necessary belief. Little wonder therefore that so many have found it impossible to entertain the theory of causality in human volitions, when, if there were no other causes, the restrictions imposed upon their conceptive faculties by these feeling-begotten associations are so powerful. Much of the talk about the destructive character of the theory to all that is dignified in human nature may be referred to this latent source of disbelief. Although the doctrine has, properly conceived, nothing of the depressing effects which have so often been attributed to it, it does certainly tend to the restraining of the unbounded ideal longings within proportions commensurate with the real facts of life. While all science does this to some degree, that of the human mind does so in a special and eminent degree; and consequently much of

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endeavours still imagines himself swayed by emotions similar in kind to those which have often stimulated him to actions. But, in fact, this tendency to believe in such intensity and exclusive influence of certain feelings in the future, very soon leads the individual to the conception of indeterminateness generally. First of all, it is only another step in the direction of deviation of belief from actual experience; and secondly, the idea of such exclusive dominion by certain feelings is very difficult to be sustained, and consequently becomes merged in the larger idea of universal indeterminateness.

\* The æsthetic, the ethical, and the religious emotions are those which most generally gratify themselves in this way. The ideals of the noble or sublime, the divine and the virtuous, being very comprehensive and highly intellectualized ends, are in special danger of being overborne by the immediate pressure of particular ends—the more sensual and momentary.

[Vol. XCVI. No. CLXXIX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XL. No. I. G

the intense opposition offered to the doctrine of uniformity in volitions is what we might reasonably have expected.

We have dealt thus fully upon these two great subjective causes of the modern form of the belief in Free-Will, because they are in their nature least connected with the objective facts with which the question itself is concerned, and consequently have had but little prominence given to them in the body of the dispute. They are moreover by far the most interesting amongst the various causes of this belief. For they illustrate certain tendencies of the human mind which manifest themselves universally in connexion with all departments of inquiry. And the department of human volitions here considered affords, from its importance and the consequent intensity of the speculative activity bestowed upon it, one of the best illustrations—a sort of ‘*instantia prærogativa*’ of these universal tendencies.

It must not be thought, however, that these intellectual and emotional influences are the only causes worthy of mention. As before said, there are sources of misconception and variety of belief in the peculiar character of the phenomena themselves. Even to modern supporters of Free-Will the ambiguity arising from the first crude conceptions of voluntary action which have been so fully dwelt on at the commencement of this essay, have extended their influence. In proof of this we need only refer to the constant passing and repassing from the conception of indeterminateness to that of absence of restraint which mark the whole course of the discussion. And in addition to these facts there are others in the nature of the phenomena which have doubtless contributed much to the acceptance and retention of the belief, especially with less acute metaphysicians. To these we shall now turn ; but if little prominence is given them here, it is because they have naturally had for the greater part a fuller treatment in the hands of the writers who have directly supported and defended the doctrine of indeterminateness. These contributing elements are for the most part intricacies in the phenomena of volition themselves, giving rise to misapprehension of the real nature of its operation. They would not of themselves have begotten the idea of indeterminateness, but serve to give apparent arguments to those who from the fore-mentioned causes already entertain it.

First of all, then, human actions are among the most complex of all phenomena, produced often by the joint operation of an indefinite number of diverse forces. Hence, although we may have knowledge enough of the invariable facts to found an induction upon, we are rarely able to predict an individual's actions in any remote period ; and we are often unable to account for all the concurring and opposing forces in particular actions witnessed

by us. To any one, accordingly, who does not know the *à priori* grounds for belief in causality as applying to human actions, and has not studied the actions of masses where the variable elements do not interfere with the observation of the invariable, there seems much that contradicts the doctrine. And when once the mind is already inclined from other influences to reject the belief in uniformity, anything in the facts seeming to support this view will naturally assume exaggerated proportions.

Again, the fact that the actions of individuals vary, that similar situations in life do not originate similar actions in the same individual, seems at first sight a support to the belief in Free-Will. Many who hear of the doctrine of causality in human volitions suppose it must mean that a given set of external circumstances offering certain prospects and inducements to an individual must always lead to the same result. They do not see that causes may act just as strictly in order through the character of the individual himself, so as to alter its degree of susceptibility to different kinds of excitation.\* And they forget that even when no permanent change of character has been effected, temporary variations in the mental tone, consequent often upon such physical changes as exhaustion or recovery of health, will considerably modify the volitional character of any prospect to the same individual.

Not only is the number of motives entering into any voluntary act often such as to exclude precalculation : certain motives have a special subtlety and complexity which render them peculiarly liable to be unrecognised as proper volitional forces. In proportion as any present motive is, first, simple in character—*i.e.*, not consisting of a complicated set of pleasurable or painful considerations—and secondly, immediate in realization, it stands prominently forth as an inducement distinct from one's whole mind, and seems to invite observation. The analogy between motives and physical forces is seen by all to apply in this case. We are here prompted to action by certain immediately presented pleasures or ends. The stimulus to a man entering a room from a cold exterior atmosphere to approach the glowing fire is easily recognised by the least philosophical as a proper force acting upon him. When, however, the ends to be attained are of a highly composite character, requiring to be represented by an elaborate intellectual process, and especially when they consist principally of emotional and but little of sensational gratifications, they do

\* Mr. Mill has very ably set this part of the argument in its true light, showing that though the fact disproves necessity or irresistible sequence unsusceptible of counteraction or modification, it does not touch the question of causality.—“*Logic*,” Book VI., chap. ii. § 3.

not stand out thus in bold relief. In distinction from immediately pressing and simple ends they involve a good deal of the individual's collective mind, those feelings and thoughts which enter prominently into his own and his friends' conception of his intellectual and moral nature. They may be said to represent a far larger fraction of the collective *ego* than the opposite class of motives, to involve a fuller share of those habits of thought and feeling which constitute the development of a human mind. Hence we easily come to look upon actions regulated by these comprehensive and intellectual ends as the result not of motives but of the *ego*, the collective individual itself, conceived as a substance underlying all particular mental phenomena. The feeling of dignity attaching in varying degrees to all voluntary actions as opposed to involuntary, is here manifested in its highest degree. There is a full consciousness of pride and self-satisfaction whenever the remote and complex thus triumphs over the adjacent and elementary, and the associations of the word liberty have entered most powerfully into connexion with all this higher class of action. This antagonism between what may be loosely called the collective and the partial *ego*, is illustrated in the familiar conflicts of the comprehensive interests of prudence with temporary desires, morality with selfish promptings, and religion with earthly allurements.\* Since, moreover, in the development of man and society particular promptings tend to become subordinate to collective ends, temporary gratifications to permanent interests, there is a reason why this cause of belief in indeterminateness should still have considerable effect upon minds unaccustomed to a connected and methodical analysis of mental operations.

It is a necessary consequence of what has been said, more particularly in the first part of this essay, that many forms of expression have arisen in conformity with primitive and non-scientific modes of viewing volitional phenomena. And these distinctions preserved in our ordinary speech seem to give colour to the belief in the indeterminateness of voluntary actions. The bulk of our language was built up long before science had an existence. The forms of speech were designed accordingly to express only the more obvious distinctions and agreements in phenomena. And by the subsequent progress of knowledge much came to be

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\* A curious and interesting instance of such semi-latent volitional stimulation is seen in many cases of actions done in defiance of the threat of social disapproval from apparently no other motive than a love of individuality. The various elements entering into this impulse, as the pleasures of unlettered spontaneity, the gratification of the emotions of power and superiority, self-complacency, the ridiculous—while even the delights of sympathy with an honoured few may take some part—give it a very subtle and intellectual character.

distinguished which was at first united, and *vice versa*. Besides the misleading expressions owing their origin to erroneous views of things, there are a large number which represent partial and inadequate aspects of objects, such as are required in every-day conversation, and which, when taken apart from other expressions supplementary to them, easily lead to error. Both these classes of expressions being retained in the language for common and extra-scientific purposes, there are numerous instances of ambiguous and inexact phrases which seem to confirm the belief in the indeterminateness of the will.

First of all, then, in ordinary life men do not need always to specify with scientific fulness or exactness the conditions necessary to the production of a phenomenon. They leave many to be understood, and particularize sometimes the most prominent, sometimes the one least likely to be presupposed, sometimes and oftenest the one of most interest to themselves and their hearers. Agreeably to this, men have always attributed the interesting and important phenomena of human action to the collective existences which make up the personalities of individuals. And this they would continue to do even if the expression had never been supported by the primitive view of voluntary actions as the operations of spontaneous beings. For the first and most important thing to be known in the case of any action which is a subject of inquiry, is to whom we are to ascribe it. Special reasons may exist why we should seek in any case to know more exactly the conditions, both external circumstances and internal mental and moral states, which brought about the action; but the fact which will certainly be of interest to us is that the action was done by A and not by B or C. Hence the retention of the convenient forms of speech by which we predicate all voluntary actions of individuals as subjects. By these means we at once connect a given action with the series of actual and possible states of consciousness both objective and subjective which makes up our conception of any individual. But this interposition of a personality in every case of human action, though most convenient for every-day purposes, easily leads to the supposition that the action viewed as a phenomenon is wholly the effect of the individual, or that the agent expressed by the subject of the verb is the adequate cause. This influence seems to be specially countenanced by the forms of speech which ascribe to the subject the act of choosing between contending motives. Such a mode of expression is supposed to give to the individual a sort of controlling power over the whole process of stimulation by motives. It seems to make the force of any given motive at a certain time, somehow or other, a matter wholly conditional upon his spontaneous will at that moment, and not predetermined



by the complex effects of present circumstances and past experiences. Most men when they come to think of voluntary action in the abstract cannot free themselves from these daily associations.\*

The doctrine that the conditions of an action are not wholly within the individual, that the action is often the product of an immediately present external circumstance such as would act on nearly every man in the same way, and presupposes but little of the individual's internal nature, tendencies of thought and feeling, seems to such persons a contradiction of the familiar facts of daily experience. At the same time it must be conceded that this effect upon the belief in question has been aggravated by the modes of expression often adopted on the other side. Voluntary action has been assimilated too closely to physical. The operation of motives is spoken of as something distinct from the individual's mind, which goes on of itself automatically like the action of mechanical forces, and in relation to which he is purely passive and unnecessary if not unconscious. Little wonder that men's consciousness contradicts such a theory as this. They know that in all deliberate action they are conscious, and that this consciousness is of the very essence of voluntariness. They are sure that motives so far from being extra-mental and self-acting forces, are only motives by becoming objects of consciousness, and that instead of their producing their effects in an automatic manner, they must be attentively considered, nicely appreciated, and exactly compared in a long process of thought and deliberation, before any volition worthy of the name can be produced. In brief, they have the evidence of immediate consciousness that the will is a highly complex process, involving much of the emotional and intellectual, and that it gives a very imperfect account of the phenomenon, to say that a given set of motives always produces the same result. Reid saw the inconsistency in his adversaries' mode of representation when he said that according to their view it would be impossible for a man to act out a plan of conduct, since no motives could have contrived that plan.† Had the maintainers of the doctrine of causality always been careful to show that they fully recognised the true nature of volition as a highly complex conscious state, the issue of which indeed is determined in any given case by the number and degree of motives or

\* *Vide* Mr. H. Spencer's "Psychology," p. 617, already referred to.

† "Motives, surely, have not understanding to conceive a plan, and intend its execution. We must, therefore, go back beyond motives to some intelligent being who had the power of arranging those motives, and applying them in their proper order and season, so as to bring about the end."—"The Active Powers," Essay IV., chap. viii. p. 623.

anticipated ends called up to the mind at the moment, but which never comes about except through processes of reflection and comparison, one great support of the belief in Free-Will would have been removed.\*

The modes of speech which tend to render prominent the collective mind as the source of an act, are not the only verbal sources of the difficulty now discussed. Other forms of language indirectly countenance the notion of indeterminateness in volitions, by omitting to state the fact of a prevailing motive or motives. This is best illustrated by the whole class of expressions which serve as the machinery of social restraint, the forms of command, exhortation and advice, by which individuals seek to determine the conduct of their fellows, and communities, that of its individual members. These have been again and again referred to by the advocates of the Free-Will doctrine as necessarily presupposing the indeterminateness of the will. Kant took up this popular idea, and gave it a metaphysical shape in his elaborate system, when he said liberty or indeterminateness of the Will as Noumenon is postulated by the Moral Law: "Du kannst denn du sollst." It is said that all the phraseology employed in connexion with moral obligation, such as "you ought," "you must," "you are responsible," "you are to blame," is meaningless, unless we presuppose the existence of a will undetermined and capable of originating within itself at any given time the actions enjoined. The difficulty here arises from overlooking the fact that all this threat, suasion and advice brought to bear upon us is really so much motive power itself. The phraseology is directly intended to act as proper volitional stimulus upon the hearer's future course of action. Such expressions form a part of the machinery of social restraint, and convey a knowledge of the will of some person or persons to whom we are more or less accountable, and who are able to visit us with losses and penalties in case we disregard their command. These penalties, it need hardly be said, may be nothing but a loss of our friend's moral approbation, and an incurring of any evils flowing from this. The only other idea conveyed by this language is an appeal to the individual's own subjective feeling

\* Nevertheless, it should be added that even the most careful use of language is scarcely enough to prevent ambiguities here. To mention but one fact, the common mode of describing the action of motives, is derived from the analogy of external bodies. We are said to be acted on, stimulated by a motive, just as though this were something external to the mind, and the mind were wholly passive under its influence. It is exceedingly difficult with the ordinary associations of language to represent motives as parts of the mind itself, and bearing the impress of its various intellectual and emotional activities.

of right, which will be spoken of directly. Such being the nature of admonition, it would be irrelevant and absurd to specify in the act of giving it the fact that a certain disposition of mind is necessary to compliance. When Society says to an individual, "You ought to act so and so," it lets him know that his retention of its approbation is conditional upon his so acting. And by this means it desires, on the supposition that he was previously ignorant of the fact and is wishful to retain its good will, to add a supplementary reason or motive for all future cases. If it were to append to this the general truth that every voluntary action depends on antecedent motives, it would very likely be misunderstood. It might seem to teach that the particular action enjoined is out of his power; and in any case it would be irrelevant and distracting. All that is really presupposed in such exhortations is the susceptibility of the mind to the influence of a new consideration, which is as unlike indeterminateness as multiplicity of agencies in any external class of phenomena is unlike absence of a uniform order. Conformably to this view, we find that all this verbal play of social force is withdrawn, when it is certain that the susceptibility is lost through the action's having by the strength of long habit grown automatic.

Similarly, when an individual, reflecting upon his own conduct, which he is desirous of changing, says to himself, "I can be different," "I may be better," it looks at first sight very much as though he were insisting upon his absolute independence of all motives. And this difficulty too has considerably favoured the supposition that Free-Will is a revelation of consciousness. But in truth all that the speaker in such a case really assumes is the same susceptibility to new influence. For in the very act of saying it he is probably prompted by the recurrence of a new consideration, whether a purely subjective feeling as remorse, or some influence from without as the reproof of a friend. Were his attention at such a time diverted to the great question of the causality of human action, his present feelings would pretty certainly interpret it as implying an inexorable necessity; or at least, his mind would be distracted by a sudden transition of consciousness from a state highly emotional and volitional to one purely intellectual.\*

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\* It is in this way that the doctrine sometimes appears destructive of will in general, and its professors, men of inaction who do not sufficiently feel the worth of individual volition as the source of good to mankind. The effect, however, is not peculiar to this line of thought, but is common to all speculative pursuits. Every severe exercise of the intellectual in a man is apt to depress the volitional in a proportionate degree, unless it be carefully counteracted by self-discipline and a habit of frequent and prompt action.

Just as exhortation or threat in respect to future action, so are blame and praise for past conduct supposed to imply this indeterminateness. "What is the meaning," asks one, "of blaming me for a past action which, according to your theory, could not then and there have been different?" And in this case also it is the overlooking of a part of the facts that gives rise to the confusion. Past action is of importance, as the data on which we build our expectations of future. Were the past wholly unrelated to the future, blame would have no meaning, except indeed as the instinctive annoyance at the cause of a pain. The act blamed indicates a moral weakness, that is, a deficiency of right impulse; and to avoid the recurrence of this deficiency blame is imposed. In proportion as the past action is known to have followed deliberation, and not to have resulted from a sudden temptation, our feeling of condemnation grows stronger; for we have in this instance a proof of an essentially bad character. Here again, then, all that is presupposed is liability to a change of conduct under new influences. On the other hand, whatever part of the feeling of censure is simply retaliative, can no more be said to presuppose the possibility of a different course of behaviour at the time without some change in the antecedents, than our feeling of vexation at some damage done to our garden by a thunderstorm, can be imagined to imply that the storm was not the proper result of the atmospheric conditions of the time.

The case of contrition at one's own past conduct is not very different from the preceding, and has co-operated with it in sustaining the belief in question. For here, too, it appears at first as though the feeling were only a reasonable one so long as we hold that the action might have been otherwise without any change in the antecedent states of mind. The supposition that in remorse we are grieving over the effect of certain causes is for the instant not only staggering but absurd. Yet here also it may be seen that the notion of an implied indeterminateness arises from an inadvertency of thought. The very fact of feeling regret shows a wish for improvement, and is occasioned by the same causes that originate that wish. Remorse means that certain feelings are now alive with which the past act is discordant. Thus a man repents some piece of selfishness because of a recurrence of a more generous sentiment. The present dominant emotion causes any such recollection of a conflicting impulse to be exceedingly painful; and it is this subjective penalty inflicted by the constitution of his nature which forms the best corrective in any fairly moral man. So far from remorse teaching that motives are a non-essential and dispensable element in volition, a correcter view of the matter leads us to conclude that without the recognition of motive forces remorse becomes unintelligible.

But in all the cases just dealt with, one can scarcely avoid passing from the consideration of the complexities of the phenomena concerned to argumentation in correction of the error. We must consequently leave any fuller solutions of these knotty problems as extraneous to our present purpose. It may suffice to have named these facilities for misapprehension in the observation of the phenomenon, and to have thus roughly suggested those supplementary considerations the omission to notice which has been the source of the error. So much was necessary as a part of any exhaustive analysis of the subject. Had it not been so, there would be room for an objection that we had trenched too closely on the purely logical ground, and assumed the rôle of a disputant in the question.

And here we may look upon our proposed task as pretty well exhausted ; not but that other facts than those here named may go to account for the belief in certain minds. For to the many who have given but little thought to the subject, any slight misapprehension of certain volitional phenomena will be sufficient to confirm and sustain a belief taught them by the traditional unexamined philosophy which circulates through a large part of society. What has been attempted here is to place in light the large and approximately universal causes of the belief ; those which do not originate in any particular circumstances of life or state of society, but in the laws of human nature itself and the comparatively permanent phases of life. In the natural instincts of the human mind, in the order of development of human knowledge, in the special intricacy and subtlety of the class of phenomena, and finally in the ambiguities and inexactnesses of the forms of language, we have an ample explanation of the origin and persistence even to our own time of this celebrated theory. That in attempting to reduce these causes we have from time to time thrown argumentative force into the subject viewed as a disputed question was inevitable. For the point of view here adopted, is that the belief has been generated not by careful observation and interpretation of experience, in which case it would offer but little attraction as a distinct physiological phenomenon, but by causes which are mainly subjective and have no necessary relation to its objective truth.

Finally it may be remarked that if this attempt at psychological analysis has succeeded, the logical side of the question is necessarily affected. Any analysis which shows how a given idea or theory may have arisen from the inherent laws of the mind itself, offers a new hypothesis which thenceforth competes with the supposition of a real objective origin. Unless we hold the mind to be unsusceptible of delusion, we shall be strongly



induced to suspect the genuineness of a belief, confessedly exceptional and anomalous, for which ample grounds may be discovered in the vagaries of subjective consciousness.

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#### ART. IV.—ABEILARD.

1. *Writings and Letters of Abeilard and Heloise.* By AMBOIS. Paris : Duchesne. 1616.
2. *Sic et Non.* By ABEILARD. Paris : Cousin. 1836. Berlin : Rheinwald. 1831.
3. *Vie de St. Bernard.* Paris and Venice : Mabillon.
4. *La Vie de St. Bernard.* Par Père Ratisbonne. Paris.

THE mere mention of Abeilard's name suggests at once that of Heloise. The names are inseparable, and naturally so, in the thoughts of every one who is familiar with their extraordinary history, and who is not ?

Yet, heretical as the statement may be to some, it is very questionable whether Abeilard, as an historical character, has not lost more than he has gained by his association with Heloise. That association certainly won for him the reputation of being at once the most unfortunate and the most constant of lovers—a reputation of no mean order, and one which has not been diminished in the least, but rather enhanced, by the lapse of seven centuries since his death.

However contemptuously those of a practical and non-sentimental turn of mind may regard such fame, it is often the sole basis which sustains the immortality of individuals who deserve to be remembered on other accounts. Even warlike reputation, which has always been in high esteem amongst mortals, pales before the superior blaze of the reputation of love. "Love rules the camp," and everything else, we are told on good authority, and the pages of history show how often the fame of the soldier has been lost in that of the lover. If (as in the case of the first Napoleon) we frequently forget the statesman and legislator in contemplating the renowned warrior, we not less frequently (as in Antony's case) forget the great general in regarding the famous lover.

It is then no wonder that in placing Abeilard on a high pedestal as a lover, we commonly ignore his well-earned reputation as a philosopher and religious reformer. The brilliancy of

the lover throws the philosopher into the shade, and in that sense (if in no other) Heloise may be said to have ruined Abeilard. Without her he would stand forth a great and striking figure in the history of the 12th century—something more conspicuous than our English Wickliffe, if something less than Germany's Martin Luther. What more he might have been, other than he actually was (in fact as well as celebrity), but for the depressing influences which sprang from his connexion with Heloise, it is impossible to say ; but it appears probable that had it not been for that unfortunate intimacy, he would have forestalled by some four centuries the laurels of the German Doctor of Divinity. As it was, he left his indelible mark on the age in which he lived as a bold religious reformer, a profound philosopher and thinker, and an orator of surpassing eloquence—as a man who in no small degree assisted in bringing about some of those vast changes which bridge over the great gulf, separating the intellect of the present day (imperfectly developed as it is) from the intellectual darkness of the Middle Ages.

Born in Brittany in 1079, Abeilard early showed indications of an uncommon genius, which was carefully developed by the best education procurable in those days. From mature boyhood until he had passed his thirtieth year he practised as a species of intellectual gladiator, in accordance with the custom of the period, in various theological and philosophical schools. In this species of warfare he became quite a champion : his thought-power and his word-power were developed to an extraordinary pitch, and when he had attained the years of manhood he was well qualified to take an active and useful part in the discussion of religious questions then attracting attention. He speedily found an appropriate position in the intellectual *mêlée* raging around him.

To a certain extent he anticipated our own Bacon, by taking his stand upon the principle that investigation, comparison, and close reasoning constituted the true road to intellectual progress. He reduced the search for truth to a process of logical deductions, and did not shrink from the conclusions in science or religion to which this course might lead. In that way he hoped to reconstruct, so to speak, the natural system of mental advancement. With an audacity which astonished and bewildered the enemies of progress, and with a force of eloquence and reasoning powers equal to the work in hand, he endeavoured to reconcile Christianity with intellectual freedom, discarding the false glitter and tinsel with which ignorant or designing men had garnished the creed. The Bible alone supplied, in his philosophy, all that was required for the true Christian, while in scientific matters he

maintained the necessity of making philosophy independent of theology.

The most concise and clear description of Abeilard in his double character of theologist and philosopher, is perhaps that supplied by a modern ultramontane writer, who, of course, meant the description to be a condemnation. "He was in theology that which he was in philosophy—not altogether orthodox nor altogether heretic, but much more inclined to heresy than orthodoxy." The remark is perfectly correct, and accepting it as such it will at once be perceived that Abeilard possessed those characteristics which have always marked the true reformer, whatever his period or sphere.

With a powerful and original mind, incapable of being overawed by ancient and respectable error, he soon gathered around him a numerous body of intellectual rebels, formidable for their social influences and natural or acquired abilities. Whenever he spoke, thousands assembled to listen to his irresistible and brilliant eloquence ; and his followers were not exclusively Frenchmen or laymen, for it is recorded that English, Danes, Germans, Swedes, and Italians, including amongst them several priests, and numerous laymen of high rank, were amongst his disciples. At Melun, Corbeil, or Paris he never wanted an audience. The largest churches of the French metropolis were too small for the multitude of his followers, and he was frequently obliged to take his stand on the hill of St. Geneviève, then without the boundaries of Paris, while on the wastes around the hill his disciples assembled in thousands to listen to his teachings. The Papacy watched with jealousy the immense influence of the man, for it felt that he was not sufficiently the humble slave of the Church to make it certain that he would not turn his power against Rome. There were good grounds for that fear, for the man who could draw disciples from all ranks of life—rich or poor, high or lowly, learned or ignorant, lay or clerical—must have possessed more solid and nobler gifts than mere fluency of utterance. Had his principles been less sound and less strikingly true, he would have been less to be feared. As it was, he had gone so far as to make the Church uneasy for its safety. Not that Abeilard ever avowed himself in express terms an enemy to the Church of Rome ; on the contrary, he took every opportunity of manifesting an outward respect for it, whilst at the same time he inflicted the greatest blows upon it by preaching truth and denouncing superstition. He was dangerous because he supplied the want of his day—because he was the fountain for which contemporaneous intelligence thirsted, and had thirsted so long. He and his hearers mutually desired the progress of the human mind ; and

he was the master who pointed out an attractive road to intellectual development and mental freedom, and aroused the aspirations of his hearers to a new glory by his broad and sweeping reasoning.

The fascination of his eloquence appeared indeed to have been remarkable, and is admitted by all contemporaneous writers. Natural genius and early and vigorous training had no doubt much to do with this, but these must have been greatly assisted by the strength of the truth which was within him, and the sympathy which the announcement of that truth aroused in the breasts of his hearers. The very independence of his position, no doubt, also added to his influence as an orator ; for freedom of thought is so consonant with our natures as always to excite admiration in a greater or less degree.

To counteract the influence of such a man was far more important to the Church of Rome than merely to put him down and silence him. Rome was sorely in need of a champion ; but where was she to find one who could encounter with credit such a powerful and wary champion as Abeilard ? The general tendency of his teachings was notoriously hostile to the influence of the Papacy, although, as already intimated, when an attempt was made to fix upon him an heretical opinion on any special point, himself and his friends were always able to maintain that the charge was unfounded. The reasons for this line of policy on the part of Abeilard became obvious when the great power of the Romish Church at that day is taken into consideration. The time had not yet arrived when a reformer could safely denounce the errors and superstitions of the Papacy in public, or burn a Pope's Bull in the open street. While, however, the Papacy was sorely puzzled as to how to check the rapidly spreading liberalism propagated by Abeilard, and while the great orator himself was at the very zenith of his fame, events were transpiring which were destined to alter the whole character of the struggle between philosophy and superstition.

In the first place the Church was about to find the champion it so urgently required and had so long sought ; and in the second place, an episode in Abeilard's life, which was destined to influence his entire future existence and fame, was at hand.

The occurrence which destroyed the philosopher, by embittering the entire subsequent life of the individual, immortalized the individual through all ages and in all nations. While Abeilard was at the zenith of his fame, preaching daily in Paris to immense concourses of warm admirers, there lived in the city a young girl, not yet seventeen years of age, endowed with extraordinary intelligence, and a personal beauty quite as exceptional.

She is indeed described by contemporaneous and more recent writers as the marvel of her age. All that a careful education could do to expand her natural genius had been done, and she was well versed in the philosophy, the literature, and arts of the period, at the same time that she possessed a wonderfully complete knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. It was Heloise. She was the joy and pride of her uncle, Canon Fulbert, who had brought her up, and had neglected nothing to the accomplishment of his adopted daughter.

In an unfortunate moment for all parties the uncle conceived the idea of giving the finishing touch to her education by securing for her the instruction of the most celebrated philosophers of the day—and Abeilard especially. For some time she had been under the tuition of this popular teacher and received marked benefit from his instruction.

Perceiving this, Fulbert became desirous that she should secure the advantages of a more constant intercourse with Abeilard, and accordingly induced him to accept apartments in his house, so that Heloise might have the benefit of his daily conversation. Our modern notions of propriety may be somewhat shocked at this arrangement; but the society of the Middle Ages was not quite so scrupulous as that of the present age on many points. But apart from questions of this kind, there was really little reason for Canon Fulbert to hesitate about confiding his niece to the care of Abeilard. The preacher was forty years of age, and no longer (one would have thought) liable to the temptations which beset "hot youth." Besides, his position as a holder of certain Church benefices, and his well-known intention of entering into the ecclesiastical state, as well as the philosophical austerity pertaining to his position and reputation, were so many titles to the confidence of the canon. All these guarantees were, however, shattered before the attacks of a passion which took possession of both master and pupil. It was some time before the suspicions of Fulbert were aroused, and not indeed until it was too late to avoid the public scandal which arose. As soon as the lovers learnt that all was known, they determined upon flight, and eloped to Brittany before any effectual means were adopted to separate them. In a short time, however, Abeilard returned to Paris, had an interview with Fulbert, described candidly the state of affairs, and offered to marry Heloise on the understanding that the marriage should be kept a secret. The latter stipulation was quite in accordance with the idea of the age, which regarded marriage as a bar to eminence either in philosophy or theology, but was at the same time willing to look upon a compromise with no great degree of disfavour.



Fulbert consented to everything which might tend to restore his beloved niece to an honest position, and the couple were privately married, in his presence, with the view of preserving the secret which would have been ruinous to the philosopher. But the secret could not after all be kept, and Fulbert was obliged to divulge it to save the honour of his adopted daughter. A curious instance of devotion and resolution was then displayed on the part of Heloise. Knowing the effect the avowal of her marriage with Abeilard would have on his career, she boldly denied it, to the distraction of the canon her uncle. This state of things necessitated a new arrangement, and Abeilard, to save his wife from the reproaches of Fulbert, procured her an asylum in the monastery of Argenteuil.

Maddened by the destiny which fell to the lot of his cherished adopted daughter, Fulbert conceived an intense hatred for Abeilard, and determined to wreak a terrible vengeance upon him, which would also be a blow to his refractory niece. One night while Abeilard was at rest, the infuriated uncle, in company with four hirelings, effected an entrance into his house, having first secured the assistance of the victim's valet by bribery. They penetrated to Abeilard's chamber, fell upon him, overpowered him, and only left him when they had committed upon him the most infamous of outrages. When assistance came in response to his agonized cries, he was found bathed in his blood, and it was with difficulty that his life was preserved.

One unanimous sentiment of indignation was felt by all Paris, and persons of every rank and condition were clamorous for the detection and execution of the wretches who had committed this outrage upon manhood. Fulbert managed to escape, and was never afterwards heard of; but all his goods and possessions were confiscated, and sentence of death formally pronounced against him. The valet and two of Fulbert's accomplices were, however, discovered, and paid the penalty of their crimes on the scaffold.

In the meantime the victim of their barbarity became insupportable to himself, and not daring to appear again before his disciples, fled to a cloister to hide his blasted existence and struggle with his unextinguishable and futile passion for Heloise. His unhappy wife indeed set him the example, for she became a nun, more, it is to be feared, with the view of consecrating her existence to Abeilard than devoting herself to God. Long and weary were the years which yet remained to the unhappy lovers, but they endeavoured to alleviate their separation and the wretchedness of their fates by the frequent interchange of those epistles which have since become so justly famous as the records

of a passion which no lapse of time could soften down, and no vicissitudes alter.

Those letters are accessible to all, and familiar to most persons ; and it is not here necessary to dwell upon the sadness of the sentiments they so beautifully portray. One extract alone we will give as a specimen of their tone :—" I have," says Abeilard, after he had become somewhat reconciled to his misfortune, " I have sought in philosophy and religion for the means of extinguishing the flames which our misfortunes have only made to burn all the more intensely ; but alas ! in binding myself by vows to forget you, I have only succeeded in forgetting those vows."

Such was the origin of the fall of Abeilard as a philosopher and as a man ; and the brief extract we have given above is in itself sufficient to indicate the mental agony he laboured under during the first years of his retirement from public life. His fall, however, was not headlong and conclusive, for during subsequent years there was many a long struggle between his aspiring genius and his crushing calamities. On occasions the former was triumphant, but the dead weight of the latter always oppressed him, and finally bowed him down an aged, humbled, and blasted man.

Meanwhile, even in the years of his first strict retirement from public life, his doctrines spread and struck deeper roots. His disciples went on increasing in number and earnestness day by day, and the name of Abeilard was still a terror to the Church of Rome. In his dreary cloister he represented a power hostile to superstition, and was still the champion of reason and free inquiry. Rome could not be safe until he and his teachings had been effectively put down.

The individual who was destined to take a prominent part in this work at length appeared in the person of Bernard, Abbé of Clairvaux. Bernard unquestionably possessed great genius, in addition to an unshaken attachment to the Church of Rome and all its teachings. His earnestness as a man and sincerity as a priest cannot be called into question. Indeed, he was the *beau idéal* of a priest of Rome—learned, sagacious, gifted, and eloquent, but an uncompromising bigot, and prepared to act as the willing tool of the Church in any capacity and in any work. Possessed of all the fire and ardour of the great Jesuit chief Loyola, he was all the more a finished priest of Rome because he had higher and more intellectual qualities, and had been longer and more carefully trained for his work. If he had not been the founder of the religious order of St. Bernard, he would have been the founder of the order of Jesus ; for he was as fully

up to the perfect standard of the Jesuit as any priest of that order has ever been. He was the true type of the sectarian champion—a type which may be hated and feared, but which nevertheless excites admiration by the almost superhuman qualities of mind it implies.

This was the man the Fates had selected for the accomplishment of the overthrow of Abeilard. Heloise was the unhappy and innocent instrument of the first heavy blow at the philosopher; it remained for Bernard to complete the destruction of an enemy of the Church.

In the year 1121, Abeilard had been cited to appear before the council assembled at Soissons, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Rheims, to listen to the condemnation of his work on the Trinity, which he had composed according to the philosophical rules of Aristotle, and which was full of what his accusers called “gross and palpable errors.” He was in no mood to do battle for the doctrines he had so long and so vigorously preached, and only desired to secure the shortest and speediest road to quietude and obscurity. His book was formally condemned as heretical, blasphemous, &c.; and he meekly bowed his head to the decision, and with his own hand carried out the sentence passed upon him, and consigned it to the flames.

Nevertheless, in the depth of his misery and degradation the spirit of his “firm philosophy” would occasionally come strong upon him, although mostly merely affording his enemies, ever watchful of his conduct, opportunities of accusing him of fresh offences. At length he definitely yielded to the urgent and ceaseless instances of his friends and followers, consented to recommence his lectures in public, and with all his former energy and eloquence, claim for mankind the right of having their beliefs based upon “philosophical arguments sufficient to satisfy reason.”

He had become a monk in the monastery of St. Denis, and he quitted it to establish himself in the diocese of Troyes, where the generosity of his friends had secured him considerable benefices. He was at once surrounded by a large number of followers, and for their convenience as well as his own caused an oratory to be constructed, to which he gave the name of Paraclet. There, in the midst of an audience composed of the wealthy and intelligent of all countries, he held forth on the nature of the Godhead, the mystery of man, and the higher problems of metaphysics and morality.

In this work he found a temporary consolation for his private afflictions, and his satisfaction is frequently expressed in the letters he wrote at this period of his life. In one of them he says:—  
“Whilst my body is confined in this place, renown spreads my

name over the universe. Wherever it reaches, echo repeats it to my glory." Another change was, however, awaiting him. His proceedings at Paraclet were attracting the serious attention of the bigots of the Church of Rome, and, while foreseeing the approaching storm, he seems to have felt himself unequal to encountering it, and doubtful of his power to triumph over the great strength which would be directed against him. This and another motive induced him to abandon his equivocal ecclesiastical position at Paraclet.

The religious establishment at Argenteuil, where Heloise had sought a retirement from the world, was about this time broken up, and his husbandless wife was without a refuge for her woes suitable to her position. Abeilard did not hesitate to place Paraclet at her disposal, and by the sanction of the Bishop of Troyes, she and several of the ejected inmates of the Argenteuil convent were established there. Upon the application of Peter the Venerable, Pope Innocent II. conferred the title of Abbess of the new establishment on Heloise. In the meantime influential friends of Abeilard had secured for him the Abbey of St. Gildas, in Brittany, which he accepted on leaving Paraclet.

For a considerable time Abeilard existed rather than lived at St. Gildas, being bowed down by bodily as well as mental maladies. But a period of rest and quiet restored his physical strength, so far as restoration was compatible with a ruined constitution; and with this restoration there came the desire to appear once more on the world's stage. He again abandoned his seclusion, and came to the fore-front of the battle, but he would have acted more prudently had he remained in his obscurity at St. Gildas. He published several more works on theological and philosophical matters, and amongst them the celebrated "*Sic et Non*," which at once completed the evidence which his enemies were diligently collecting against him.

This work was specially attacked by St. Bernard. The saint indited several epistles on the subject of Abeilard's heresies as manifested in his teaching and writings; but so bitter and unfair was the spirit of these letters that Abeilard, encouraged by his supporters, was obliged to point out the calumnies they contained. This resistance developed the forces and animosity of the other side to a formidable extent, and all the advocates of religious conservation rallied around the standard raised by St. Bernard.

St. Bernard now believed himself strong enough to urge the contest on to its extreme issues, and he accordingly addressed violent letters on the subject of Abeilard's doctrines, and the dangers which would of necessity result from them, to the bishops, the cardinals, and even to the Pope himself. As a specimen of

his style of composition we give the following letter addressed to his Holiness :—

“ Brother Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, offers his humble homage to Pope Innocent, his gracious father.

“ It is you, Holy Father, who must be addressed when the kingdom of God is in peril or suffering scandal from attack upon the faith. Such is the privilege of the apostolical chair, because to Peter alone it was said, ‘ I have prayed for you that your faith may not fail you !’ To the successor of St. Peter we must then look for the fulfilment of what follows : ‘ When you become strengthened, strengthen then your brethren.’ It is necessary at this time to fulfil this command, to exercise your apostolic authority, to manifest your zeal to the honour of your ministry. . . . There has arisen in France a man who, from being a philosopher, has become a theologian—who, having passed his youth in the exercise of the dialectic art, comes before us in his mature years to unfold his fancies upon the holy writings—who, believing himself ignorant of nothing in heaven or upon earth, decided all questions without hesitation . . . who, prepared to give reasons for all things, undertakes to explain even those things which are above reason, contrary to every rule of faith, and contrary to reason itself. Here is the sense he assigns to these words of the sage, ‘ He who believes lightly is rash.’ He says that to believe lightly is to make faith go before reason, although the sage does not speak of the faith which we owe to God, but of the too ready belief we accord to the statements of men. Moreover, Pope Gregory said this Divine faith is without merit when reason furnishes it with a basis. . . . Mary is praised because she preceded reason by faith ; Zacharias is punished for having sought in reason support for his faith. Our new theologian speaks quite to the contrary. . . . From the very first line of his extravagant philosophy he defines faith as an opinion, an estimation, a preliminary conjecture—as if the mysteries of our faith depended upon human reason, instead of resting, as they should, upon the unshakable foundations of truth ! What ! you would submit to me as doubtful everything in the world the most certain ! Saint Augustine does not speak in this manner. ‘ Faith,’ says he, ‘ is not a conjecture or an opinion which is formed within us by reflection ; it is an internal conviction avowed by the conscience. Let us then leave those problematic theories to the peripatetic philosophers who make it a rule to doubt everything, and who in effect know nothing. For let us adhere to the definition of the doctor of nations. ‘ Faith,’ says this apostle, ‘ is the foundation of all that we hope for, and a certain proof of those things which we do not see.’ Faith, then, is a foundation and not an opinion—not a deduction of our vain thoughts ; it is a certainty, and not a probability.”

In another letter against Abeilard addressed to Cardinal Haimeric, Chancellor of the Church of Rome, Bernard says :—

“ I have read with my own eyes all that I have heard of the books and the doctrine of Peter Abeilard. I have weighed his expressions, and recognised the pernicious sentiments they contain. This



corruption of the faithful, this contagious spirit adapted to the estrangement of simple minds, pretends to submit to his reason that which cannot be seized except by a willing and docile faith. The true believer accepts without argument; but this new teacher, not content with having God for the guarantee of his creation, insists that his reason must be the arbitrator. Instead of what the prophet says, 'If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established,' this new theologian calls that 'lightness of faith' which springs from the heart, misapplying this passage of Solomon, 'He who believes lightly is rash.' Abeilard mounts as high as heaven, and descends into the abysses; no height, no depth, is hidden from his knowledge. In his own eyes he is a great man, disputing upon the faith against the faith itself, insinuating himself into the secrets of God, and fabricating heresies for us.'

To Cardinal Gregorius he wrote as follows:—

"I send you the writings of Peter Abeilard in order that you may become acquainted with the spirit of the philosopher. You will perceive that he supposes degrees in the Trinity, like Arius; that he raises free judgment above grace, like Pelagius; that he treats Jesus Christ like Nestorius. . . . What! after having escaped from the jaws of the lion,\* should we not be on our guard against the poisonous breath of the dragon? The rage of the former is buried in his tomb; the latter would perpetuate his pernicious doctrines for ages to come."

Such epistles as the foregoing could not fail to raise a storm against Abeilard. Accused of every offence which was odious and intolerable in the eyes of the dominant Church—and accused with so much tact and ability—a defence of some sort was necessary.

Urged by the representations of his followers, Abeilard protested against the accusations made against him. He was even induced to express his intention of defending himself before the Council General which was to judge him. With the evidence of his latter writings before him, and with his knowledge of what the Church of Rome was, it is difficult to understand how Abeilard could have for a moment imagined that any defence he could make would avail him against the judgment of a selected body of the servants of the Church; and indeed at the last moment he appears to have seen how futile the effort would have been.

Nevertheless, the expected intellectual combat between two such famous men as Abeilard and Bernard excited the most intense interest amongst all parties. It was known that, as the champion of distinct and conflicting views, both had been ordered to attend before the Council to plead their respective causes. The anticipated combat was to be a struggle between fixed, unprogressing superstition on the one hand, and free discussion and examination on the other.

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\* Alluding to the antipope, Peter the Lion.

The eighth day of Pentecost of the year 1140 was appointed for the assembling of the Council at Sens. In addition to prelates and theologians from almost every corner of the known world, there also flocked to the town all the nobility and gentry of France, with the entire Court of Paris, and the King himself at their head.

From the first St. Bernard had professed an extreme reluctance to enter into the contest, not that he doubted the cause he advocated, but because (he said) he considered himself unworthy to defend that cause. Before the day appointed for the meeting of the Council he wrote as follows to the Archbishop of Sens :—

“The Archbishop of Sens calls upon me—who am I, meanest of all! to contend with Abeilard face to face? He has appointed the day upon which the theologian shall sustain before the assembled bishops the impious assertions against which I dared to protest. I refuse to appear; because, in all truth, I am only a child; because my adversary has been trained by the disputations of his younger days; and besides, I think it is not proper to compromise the authority of the faith founded upon the word of God by an appeal to the subtle arguments of human reasoning. Therefore, I reply that no other accusers are required than his own writings. In addition, this matter does not concern me personally; it appertains to the bishops who are the guardians and the interpreters of the faith.”

This letter gives a very good insight into the character of Bernard. First, he shows himself a worthy son of the Church militant, who desires condemnation without giving an opportunity for defence or justification; and then he declines, on very frivolous grounds, to substantiate his charges against the man whom he is openly accused of calumniating.

In this state of affairs some negotiations appear to have taken place, which cannot now be defined, but which may easily be guessed at. But probably the common understanding so frequently arrived at in our modern Law Courts—that if the accused will plead guilty, the rigour of the law will be tempered towards him—was brought into play in this instance. Matters having apparently been arranged in this manner, Bernard accepted the task of ostensibly coming forward as the prosecutor of Abeilard. The following letter was accordingly written by him :—

“I am obliged to yield to the representations of my friends. They see indeed that all the world is preparing for this conflict, and they perceive that my absence would be an excuse for the falling off of the weak in faith, and a subject of triumph for those who are in error. I yield then, although with regret, and with tears in my eyes, without other preparation than that recommended by the evangelist, ‘And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake; but take

no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in this same hour what ye shall speak;' and also this assurance, 'The Lord is on my side, and I will not fear what man can do unto me.'"

In obedience to the summons, Abeilard also proceeded to Sens by the appointed day; but his mind was made up; his definite course—the only one which could secure him a little peace and quiet—was decided upon. To contend against Rome when all her might was marshalled against him was hopeless; but to contend against her as he then stood was madness itself. Far gone in years, broken-hearted and broken-spirited, enfeebled by physical diseases, what could the wreck, the shadow, of the Abeilard of former days do?

There was nothing left for him but submission, and then to seek an obscure and peaceful corner in which to linger out the rest of his weary life. If Church reform was necessary, it must be done by some one whose strength and vigour of mind and body bore some proportion to the task, not by the Reformer who stood before the Council at Sens, prepared to drink the cup of humiliation to the very dregs. Abeilard might, it is true, have still shown fight, but it would have been without purpose, and without a result more satisfactory than would follow from a humble submission at once. As was said of Heloise, so it might be said of Abeilard—both were less consecrated to religion than to the memory which lay between them. They were less consecrated to God than to each other.

With those feelings and anticipations, it is no wonder that Abeilard at the last moment chose to secure for his closing years that peace which could only be found by a full and complete submission. When called upon to speak before the Council, he accordingly declined a controversy. Thereupon the task of Bernard was restricted to simply pointing out what he considered heretical in the productions of his opponent, leaving him the choice of retraction or refutation. Abeilard, in reply, contented himself with registering a formal appeal to the Pope.

The Council unanimously pronounced Abeilard's condemnation, and Bernard and the Church were jubilant. "I have seen," Bernard wrote in the midst of his triumph (quoting the language of David), "I have seen the impious lifted as high as the cedars of Lebanon. I passed, and they were there no longer."

The decision of the Council of Sens, as well as Abeilard's appeal, came before the Pope Innocent in due course, and the latter, after having considered both sides of the question, confirmed the judgment of the Council, and condemned Abeilard to an "eternal silence on all theological matters."

Abeilard's position was thus clearly and unmistakably deter-

mined. However his inability to cope with the Church of Rome may be deplored or excused, it was certainly not to the advantage of mankind in general that he did not, or could not, persevere in the contest. Had he done so, there is little doubt that he would have established a reformed Christianity in the very stronghold of Catholicism on a purified, simple, and intelligible basis. As it was, broken down by his misfortunes and shorn of everything which could make life worth struggling for, he issued the following apology, which his opponents flattered themselves was a recantation, but which is in reality a clear and beautiful defence of the purity of his principles and the perfectly disinterested character of his motives :—

“To all the children of Holy Church, Abeilard the least of all. It is commonly said that the best things are corrupted; and, as Saint Jerome has observed, that to write many books is to draw down many censures. In comparison with the works of others, mine are of little consequence. I cannot, however, avoid criticism, although in my books I do not discover my errors, and I do not pretend to maintain them, if any are found therein. Perhaps I have erred in writing on some subjects otherwise than I should have done; but I call God to witness—who is the sentiment of my soul—that I have said nothing from malice, or by a voluntary perversity. I have spoken much in divers public schools, and I have never given my instruction as disguised bread or hidden water. . . . If in the multitude of my words dangerous assertions have entered, as it is written, ‘In much speaking it is impossible not to sin,’ the task of defending my opinions has never led me into heresy, and I have always been ready in satisfying exigencies, to modify what I had incautiously said, or to retract it entirely. Such are my sentiments; I never had others.”

This will bear favourable comparison with the best of Bernard’s effusions. It carries with it an air of conviction which is completed and confirmed by a knowledge of the age and condition of the man at the time he penned it.

Essayists and historians like Macaulay have been unable to suppress their admiration for the policy of the Church of Rome, which has enabled it during so many centuries to hold its place in the world with so little loss of power and influence. But the Church committed a grave error when it adopted that policy of opposing reform as heresy. Had the Abeilards of its history been listened to, and favoured to the same extent as the Bernards, reform would have prevented rebellion, and a vast and united Christian Church would long ere this have familiarized a large proportion of mankind with the practice, and not merely the theory of Christian principles.

After the publication of his defence, Abeilard sought and received an asylum in the Abbey of Cluny, at the head of which

establishment was his old friend Peter the Venerable. There he lingered out the last two years of his remarkable life, a meek and silent old man, weary of the world which had dealt so harshly with him, weary of himself, of the disputes of theologians and philosophers, and of the deceptive glory and brilliancy of his past career. His friend, Peter the Venerable, records that he lived in the strictest seclusion and with great austerity, only partaking of the scantiest and coarsest nourishment. His love for Heloise was all that remained of his old passions and feelings; and that was unchanged and unabated.

His last letter to her before his departure from the scene of his earthly cares affords a touching illustration of his constancy:—

“ You have been the victim of my love, become now the victim of my repentance. Accomplish faithfully that which God demands of you. It is a manifestation of his greatness that the only foundation of his goodness to man lies in our weaknesses; let us mourn over ours at the foot of the altar. He only waits for our contrition and humility to put an end to our misfortunes. Let our repentance be as public as our crimes were. We are a sad example of the imprudence of youth. Let us show our generation and posterity that the repentance of our errors has merited their forgiveness; and let us make them admire in us the power of the grace which has been able to triumph over the tyranny of our passions. Do not be discouraged by occasional returns of tenderness, for it is a virtue to combat and overcome such attacks. May your knowledge of human weaknesses teach you to support the faults of your companions. If I have corrupted your mind, compromised your salvation, tarnished your reputation, destroyed your honour, pardon me, and remember that it is Christian mercy to forgive the evil I have done you. Providence calls us to him; do not oppose him, Heloise. Do not write to me any more. This is the last letter you will receive from me, but in whatsoever place I die I shall leave directions for my body to be conveyed to Paraclet. Then I shall require prayers and not tears; then only you will see me to fortify your piety, and my corpse, more eloquent than myself, will teach you what one loves when one loves a man.”

Before his death an interview was brought about between him and St. Bernard, through the intermediary of Peter the Venerable. Such an interview was in itself an historical episode, and one well worthy of depiction by the poet or painter.

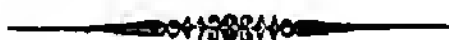
When death came to him on the 21st of April, 1142, in his sixty-third year, he was prepared to meet it, and one of the most remarkable men of his age passed from this life, let us hope, to another and happier world, “where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.”

In accordance with his last wishes his body was entombed at Paraclet, the chief mourner being his wife Heloise. For twenty-



two years she lived to watch by his tomb, the most constant of women, the most unfortunate of wives. On the 17th of May, 1164, the final act in this touching drama was performed according to the wishes of the unhappy couple, and the body of Heloise was lowered into the tomb of Abeilard. A popular legend asserts that on opening the tomb for the interment of Heloise, the faithful husband who had so long awaited the coming of his beloved wife extended his fleshless arms to receive her.

The united remains of husband and wife were not permitted to rest tranquilly in the grave where they had been deposited. The vicissitudes of their lives seemed to be continued after their death. In the year 1800 their bones were transported to the cemetery of Père La Chaise, Paris, where a handsome Gothic monument was erected over them. The visitor to the cemetery will find the tomb in the older part of the grounds on the right of the main entrance, and will perceive by the *immortelles*, in all stages of freshness and decay, heaped upon it, that there are still sympathetic souls who mourn the fate of those unhappy lovers of the Middle Age.



#### ART. V.—THE REPUBLICANS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. *The Debates on the Grand Remonstrance, November and December, 1641, with an Introductory Essay on English Freedom under Plantagenet and Tudor Sovereigns.* By JOHN FORSTER, LL.D. London. 1860.
2. *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Parliament of England.* By CLEMENS R. MARKHAM, F.S.A. London. 1870.

IF there is anything certain in the lessons of history, it is that a Republic is not the creation of a law-giver, and that it demands for its origin and existence a combination of favourable circumstances. It takes root and thrives best in an advancing society, and demands the safeguard of much honesty of purpose and a powerful public opinion. Superstition, great inequalities of fortune, and veneration for high birth, as well as an inordinate desire for power, and the luxuries and enjoyments of life are extremely unfavourable to its existence. As a Commonwealth is the highest ideal of a State, it requires to be maintained by a high ideal of character. Where the standard of individual character is too low a Republic cannot exist save in

name. If the different individuals which compose the State are so servile that they will not resist oppression, save when it takes the form of unbearable tyranny directed against themselves, and if they are so unprincipled that they are always ready to abuse any power committed to their charge for their own private advancement, neither a Republic nor a limited monarchy can exist. Despotism is the only feasible government; and such a people may consider themselves fortunate when they are ruled by a master whose conduct is regulated by the restraints of morality and religion, and who possesses within his own mind the checks which are not found elsewhere.

There are nations where the political character is so degraded that they cannot even form a centralized despotism of any extent. The best thing that can happen to them is to be conquered by another people more capable of holding together the machinery of government.

It may be here observed that there are two classes of philosophers, who explain historical events in a totally different manner. One party regards all great events as the natural and inevitable result of great social and physical causes which statesmen and generals can do little or nothing to prevent or control. The other party believes that causes of limited range may now and then lead to results of the highest importance to the body politic; that for example an error of judgment in a politician or in a general, may lead to lasting consequences to a whole nation; that a single sabre stroke may sometimes decide the fate of an empire, and that a successful conspiracy may accelerate events which might otherwise have slumbered for generations.

Between these two views there is a considerable range of opinion, and the reader will see in the course of this article that its author is disposed to make allowance both for great social causes, and for what may be called political accidents, just as our own fortunes are determined, not only by our antecedents and our individual character, but also by the interference of a third set of causes which are not the subject of ordinary calculation, and which are therefore called fortuitous.

There has been only one attempt to found a Commonwealth in England; and this so signally failed that it is generally believed the attempt was a political mistake which ought fairly to bring its authors into discredit, as a set of headstrong theorists who mistook the wants and capabilities of their countrymen.

A careful survey both of the political events which preceded the Commonwealth, and the social, religious, and intellectual condition of these memorable times, may convince some, at least,

that the statesmen who sought to give to posterity, at the cost of their own blood and toil, the blessings of a free Constitution, have done less to deserve our contempt and more to deserve our gratitude than is generally imagined. We shall endeavour to justify the view that these men were real statesmen and no mere dreamers, that in their day a state of affairs existed, the result of great social causes, which was unusually favourable to the establishment of a Commonwealth, and that the failure of their design, and the return of the Stuarts, was in a great measure due to political accidents.

Since the days of the Norman Conquest many causes have been at work to diminish both the power of the king and that of the barons. Some of these causes we have already tried to point out in our article on "Land Tenures and their Consequences."\*

By the death of Queen Elizabeth the line of English sovereigns became extinct. Self-interest might prompt the courtiers who crowded round James I. to profess the highest loyalty for the heir of Elizabeth; but the English people could hardly forget that their new king was the lineal descendant of those Scottish princes who had so often borne fire and sword over the northern counties, that his great-grandfather had been killed at the battle of Flodden by an English archer, that his grandfather had died of grief at the ill success of an attempt to invade England, and that his mother had been beheaded within an English prison. Had the new king of Great Britain been a bold, accomplished, and spirited prince, like his ancestors, James I., James IV., or James V., more of the sentiment of hereditary loyalty might have passed to the new dynasty. As it was, his appearance was contemptible, his manners ungainly, and his speech ungracious.

It is much to be regretted, as Mr. Forster† has pointedly remarked, that no arrangement was made, on the accession of the Scottish prince, so far to define and modify the royal prerogative as to satisfy those popular demands which Elizabeth had such difficulty in resisting, and to secure which the nation had to go through a bloody civil war and two revolutions.

This feeble prince disgusted his subjects by claiming prerogatives which the Plantagenets and the Tudors could not put in exercise, and gave himself the airs of a despotic sovereign while his own household treated him with disrespect. At the same time he weakened his own power by his inglorious foreign policy, his persecutions of the Puritans, his unworthy favouritism, and the shameless expedients by which he sought to obtain more

\* *Westminster Review*, January, 1870.

† "The Debates on the Grand Remonstrance," pp. 90-91.

money to squander away. He degraded the estimation of the nobility by selling titles and peerages, and destroyed his own hold over the nobles by selling the leasehold estates of the Crown.\*

When Charles I. came to the throne many causes were at work to help the growth of public spirit and the demand for popular rights. That mighty change which came with the revival of letters and arts, with the Reformation, the discovery of America and the exploration of the navigable world, was still working in the minds of a generation as great as England had ever produced. A religious creed was a thing to which men were willing to shape their lives, to suffer for and to die for; and there was that extreme conscientiousness in private life which is the best safeguard of public virtue and of public freedom. In religion there was a spirit of inquiry which Prelacy vainly struggled to stifle. The meaning and the value of political freedom was becoming better understood, and the great diffusion of classical learning had filled the minds of the educated with a vague admiration of the glories of democratic Athens and republican Rome; while the study of the Old Testament gave the people ideas of governments constructed on a different plan from the traditional feudalism of Europe. The generation which produced orators and statesmen like Eliot, Pym, Hampden, and Vane; soldiers like Cromwell, Fairfax, and Ireton; admirals like Blake; jurists like Selden; poets like Milton, Butler, and Marvell; physicians like Harvey and Sydenham; philosophers like Harrington, Cudworth, and Hobbes,—was a generation that might well desire to found a Commonwealth and to be free from the yoke of kings. Social and political changes were working in the same direction; the nobility were losing hold of their estates; the Commons were becoming more and more wealthy. In the third Parliament of Charles it was computed that the property of the members of the Lower House was three times as great as that of the Peers. The yeomanry were increasing both in numbers, substance, and independence. England was beginning to compete with Holland for the trade with America and the East Indies; the capital and the seaport towns were rapidly growing in wealth, numbers, and importance, maintaining a large trading and manufacturing class with habits and thoughts opposed to the pretensions of the feudal nobility, who looked to the throne to uphold their decaying privileges.

Charles Stuart was firmly convinced that a share in the government of their own affairs was "a thing nothing pertaining to

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\* See Bishop Burnet's "History of his Own Times." Oxford, 1823. Vol. i. p. 26.

the people," and that it depended upon his own good pleasure to revoke those popular rights which had been granted by his predecessors on the English throne. For eleven years he ruled without a Parliament. He levied taxes illegally ; kept men in prison on his own authority ; put unjust judges in the Courts of Law ; and continued the persecution of the Puritans, who were now becoming a party formidable by their numbers, but still more so by their zeal, firmness, and intelligence. There seemed great danger that with the aid which Charles derived from the Machiavellian genius of the Earl of Strafford, the liberties of England would perish like those of Arragon. But fortunately for the future of these kingdoms, Charles had so little notion of his real situation, that during the height of the struggle he chose to quarrel with his Scottish subjects, who, with a little management, might have been brought to give important assistance in putting down the English Commons. The Scotch knew little of civil liberty ; but they had adopted the democratic religious equality of Geneva into their National Church, and on Charles attempting by arbitrary decrees to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, the whole nation rose in arms against him.

The tenth prince of the unfortunate Scottish line of Stuart now led a Southern army northwards against the country which had given him birth, while the Presbyterians and friends of liberty in England trembled for the first time at the prospect of a victory of their own countrymen over their hereditary enemies : for they hoped in the overthrow of the prince to gain the freedom of the people.

A Scottish army occupied the northern counties of England, and the King, unable to drive them away, and alarmed at the universal discontent of his English subjects, was obliged once more to issue writs for an election.

In November, 1640, the Long Parliament first met. It was composed of men whose courage and ability had been dearly proved in the hard struggle against the King and his faction, and whose resentment had been inflamed by the arbitrary punishments which many of them had suffered, as well as by the outraged rights of the nation whom they represented. Though elected under the stimulus of popular indignation, none of them were returned with the object of overthrowing the monarchy, and few of them at that time were Republicans. But they came determined to gain securities for the violated liberties of England, and went on their work with courage and celerity. Finch, the Lord Keeper, fled ; Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was imprisoned ; Strafford was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by Pym, the great Parliamentary



orator and leader of the House of Commons, for aiding and encouraging his master in his attempt to destroy the English Constitution. From the day that Strafford's head rolled on the scaffold, men knew that the Long Parliament was the ruling power in the nation. The Star Chamber was abolished, the Triennial Bill was voted, by which it was made law that a Parliament should be assembled every three years, and if the sovereign failed to call it, there were provisions in the Act that elections should be held without his consent.

It is always easy to awake the conservative feelings of a portion, at least, of the English people; and as concession after concession was extorted from the unwilling prince, a party was gradually formed in his favour, comprising men like Hyde, Falkland, and Culpeper, who had previously taken a decided part against him. The English are fonder of building their laws and institutions upon ancient usage and historical precedent, than upon abstract rights. The popular party were pleased to trace the liberties they possessed to something their ancestors had possessed, and the liberties they claimed to something their ancestors had lost. No doubt free institutions, and the rudiments of free institutions, had been destroyed by the Norman tyrants; and even after the Conquest, a few privileges which the people still held had in course of time fallen into disuse, and concessions made by princes in the exigencies of civil discord, had been forgotten or revoked by themselves or their successors. Owing to this bent of the English mind, the historical investigations of men like Cotton and Selden were of real value to the cause of liberty, and obnoxious to favourers of arbitrary government like James I. and Charles I. Nevertheless, manage the argument in detail as you may, it is clear that the people held rights under Elizabeth which they did not possess under the Plantagenets, or even under Edward the Confessor; and that the Royal prerogative had suffered much from the continual encroachments of the Commons. As Charles I. had persistently struggled to take back the concessions of his predecessors, the Long Parliament, clear in its sense of right, strong in its popularity, and justly distrustful of the sincerity of the prince, not only demanded new privileges, but that these rights should be fenced by new securities. Those who believe in the divine right of kings, or the expediency of a despotic government, will of course deplore the concessions of the prince; those in favour of limited monarchy will draw the line according to their fancy here or there, and say that beyond this or that constitutional meridian the Long Parliament overpassed the limits of popular rights; while those who believe that the people can at any time take back from its rulers the power it has delegated to them,

will not be disposed to blame any of the demands of the Commons, if they are satisfied that the people were fit to exercise the privileges claimed for them. Could Charles Stuart have been trusted, it is certain that their measures would have been so moderate as not to offend any party really entitled to be called the friends of constitutional liberty ; but as it was, the Commons were led to demand that the powers of the Crown should be curtailed, in order to disarm the faithless occupant of the throne.

After the attempt of Charles to arrest the five members, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haslerig, and Strode, within the House of Commons, all attempts at compromise were fruitless. The majority in the House of Commons could only allow Charles to reign upon conditions which are regarded by a liberal historian like Hallam as unreasonable ; but which, as Macaulay has remarked, really amounted to

“ Little more than the change which, in the next generation, was effected by the Revolution. It is true that, at the Revolution, the sovereign was not deprived by law of the power of naming his ministers : but it is equally true that, since the Revolution, no ministry has been able to remain in office six months in opposition to the sense of the House of Commons. It is true, that the sovereign still possesses the power of creating peers, and the more important power of the sword : but it is equally true that in the exercise of these powers the sovereign has, ever since the Revolution, been guided by advisers who possess the confidence of the representatives of the nation. In fact, the leaders of the Roundhead party in 1642, and the statesmen who, about half a century later, effected the Revolution, had exactly the same object in view. That object was to terminate the contest between the Crown and the Parliament, by giving to the Parliament a supreme control over the executive administration. The statesmen of the Revolution effected this indirectly by changing the dynasty. The Roundheads of 1642, being unable to change the dynasty, were compelled to take a direct course towards their end.”\*

The majority of the Commons who took part against the King, amounting to about two-thirds of the whole body, now took the executive government into their hands in all those districts which acknowledged their right to levy war ; and within those districts at least the English Commonwealth commenced its troubled existence.

The Civil War lasted four years. At the beginning, neither party could bring forward disciplined soldiers ; there were few officers to be got skilled in military manœuvres ; and no generals capable of comprehensive strategic plans. The war was

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\* “ History of England.” London : 1850. Vol. i. p. 111.

decided by violent and bloody actions on the open field. There were few fortresses able to resist cannon; field artillery was of little use; firearms had not yet attained such precision of aim, and sureness of discharge, as to be the decisive weapon in warfare. The infantry wore defensive armour, and carried rests for their muskets, which they stuck in the ground. The bayonet was unknown; but one-half the infantry bore pikes; and the cavalry sabre decided many a fight. Fairfax and Cromwell commenced as cavalry officers. The battle of Naseby was decided by cavalry charges, putting to flight the royal horse, and surrounding the infantry. At the siege of Drogheda, Cromwell refers to the difficulty of acting with infantry alone against the enemy's horse and foot. Even after the Parliamentary infantry had passed through the breach, and gained possession of a church, little way was made till the enemy's cavalry were dispersed by a battery of artillery, and Cromwell's horse, with much difficulty brought into the town. Lesley ruined Montrose's army with a cavalry force. At Dunbar, Cromwell's cavalry charged through the Scottish foot.

It was natural that, during the Civil War, the House of Commons should be inclined to trust members of their own body, whose sentiments were well pronounced, with the administration of affairs, and high commands in the army; but while the deliberative power of the Assembly was weakened by the withdrawal of above one-fourth of its ablest\* members, it was found that good statesmen might make indifferent colonels of regiments, and that orators who could think upon their legs on the floor of the House of Commons, could not think so clearly when seated upon a hussar saddle, with bullets hissing in their ears; and there was a strong feeling that those who had brought on the war by their votes should not hold lucrative appointments during its continuance.

It was proposed by Zouch Tate, that no member of Parliament should retain command in the army; and this measure, known as the Self-denying Ordinance, seconded by the eloquence and example of Sir Henry Vane, who gave up his own post of Treasurer of the Navy, was carried in the House of Commons, and forced through the House of Lords.

The task of remodelling the army was given to Lord Fairfax. As may be seen from Ludlow's *Memoirs*, the changes were more

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\* "The 22nd of January being the day appointed for the Anti-Parliament to meet at Oxford, the Parliament at Westminster called the House, and there appeared 280 of their members, besides 100 more in the service of the Parliament in the several counties; and now they expelled by vote forty members who had deserted the Parliament."—*Whitelocke's Memoirs*. London: 1682, p. 76.

amongst the officers than amongst the men. It is all very well quoting a speech of Oliver Cromwell's, that the Parliamentary troops were, ere he took the matter in hand, "most of them old decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows." It may be safely affirmed that the number of such persons, whether decayed or undecayed, never was so great as to furnish any large contingent to the Parliamentary forces; and that, during a civil war, an army cannot be changed like a pack of cards. The change was mainly in the officers selected from those who had proved themselves most capable, in the increased discipline, in the determination, which had been sadly wanting to Essex, of losing no chance to strike hard at the king's forces, and, above all, in the organizing power and able generalship of Fairfax; for it is incorrect, as Carlyle and his followers pretend, that Oliver Cromwell was the real head of the army which put an end to the Civil War. As Mr. Markham shows in his "*Life of Lord Fairfax*,"

"that great man was in all respects the commander-in-chief of the new army; he selected the officers, organized the regiments, and conducted the operations in the field.

"Cromwell was subsequently his very efficient Lieutenant-general of Horse; but he was of no use to him in preparing for the field, nor in making the important arrangements at Windsor, where Major-general Skippon, and not Cromwell, was Sir Thomas's right hand.\*

"It was Fairfax whose genius won the fight at Naseby, and whose consummate generalship concluded the war, and restored peace."

There was no other prince of the royal blood who could be trusted to ascend the throne under the new limitations which the Parliamentary party considered necessary, and it was found impossible to come to any arrangement likely to be durable with Charles Stuart, whose faithlessness was not greater than his obstinacy, and who, during two years' confinement, intrigued to gain favourable terms, by getting the three most powerful parties in the island, the Parliament, the army, and the Scottish nation, to bid against one another, so that he might secure for himself better terms, and get the assistance of one party to crush the others, hoping in the end to betray and ruin them all. Though Charles had the misfortune to commence with a very bad character for sincerity, and though he made some blunders in this line of negotiation, his intrigues were not without a measure of success. His friends in Scotland succeeded in bringing about the invasion of the Duke of Hamilton, who entered England with a Scottish army of twenty thousand men, while the English Royalists stirred up a formidable insurrection in favour

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\* Markham's "*Life of Fairfax*," p. 195.

of the King. This danger was promptly met by the Parliament. Fairfax was sent to suppress the insurrection in Kent and Essex; Cromwell quelled the insurrection in Wales, and cut off Hamilton's army, upon which the Covenanting party gained the control of affairs in Edinburgh. A portion of the English fleet which had mutinied for the King, and taken Prince Rupert for its admiral, was after a long chase captured, destroyed, or driven off the seas by Blake.

At the end of the Civil War several of the leaders of the popular party had disappeared. Essex died about the time the King became a prisoner; Hampden had received a mortal wound fighting for the liberties of England; Pym had sunk under the weight of affairs, which none else could manage so well; and Fairfax and Cromwell now occupied the conspicuous position of leaders of a disciplined army, which their great military talents had rendered victorious.

And now the question arose was Charles to be allowed again to fill the throne, and again to weave his spider-like webs to destroy the men who had fought for the freedom of England, and to win back by craft what he had lost on the field. After an unsuccessful attempt to escape, Charles was detained prisoner in the Isle of Wight, whence the leading men in the army determined to remove him, in order to prevent a contemplated arrangement being made between him and the Presbyterian majority in the Parliament. Ludlow gives a detailed account of the deliberations of the officers and the feeling in the army, and though, as Ludlow's conduct afterwards proved, he was warmly attached to a popular government, all his influence was exerted in inducing Fairfax to carry out this design.\* It was determined to interpose by force, and those members of the Commons most anxious to come to terms with the King, were violently excluded from the house. Charles was brought to London by General Harrison, and the House of Commons, now consisting of avowed Republicans, appointed a commission to try him as guilty of the bloodshed during the Civil War. Cromwell was absent in Edinburgh during the deliberations of the officers, and only returned after the interruption of the house, as Ludlow calls it. "He declared that he had not been acquainted with this design, yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it." As Bishop Burnet says:†—

"Ireton was the person that drove it on: for Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it. Ireton had the principles and the temper of a Cassius in him; he stuck at nothing that might have

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\* Ludlow's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 262.

† Burnet's "History of His Own Time," vol. i. p. 79.



turned England to a Commonwealth, and he found out Cook and Bradshaw, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it. Fairfax was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day."

Those who believe that no breach of trust will justify the punishment of a delinquent prince, have condemned the execution of Charles Stuart as an atrocious murder; others have blamed the irregularity of his trial, and pointed out the bad consequences which came from his execution. It seems to us that, meted by the standard of his deserts, Charles I. deserved the punishment he got. A good deal can with some reason be said against the irregularity of his trial, and the choice of his judges. But it ought not to be forgotten that, if there was no statute law to provide for the punishment of a king who violated his promises and broke his coronation oath, neither was there any to provide for his subjects rising in arms against him. One thing appears to us certain, that the commission, which, by order of Parliament, sat as judges upon the King acted under motives of austere justice. The address which the President Bradshaw delivered to Charles is a noble vindication of the principles that the law is superior to the king, "and, that there is something that is superior to law, the parent or author of the law, and that is, the people of England."

"One thing was remarked in him by many in the court, that when the blood spilt in many of the battles where he was in his owne person, and had caus'd it to be shed by his owne command, was lay'd to his charge, he heard it with disdaineful smiles, and looks, and gestures, which rather exprest sorrow that all the opposite party to him was not cutt off, than that any were, and he stuck not to declare in words that no man's blood spilt in the quarrel troubled him but only one, meaning the Earle of Strafford. The gentlemen that were appointed his judges, and divers others, saw in him a disposition so bent on the ruine of all that oppos'd him, and of all the righteous and just things they had contended for, that it was upon the consciences of many of them that if they did not execute justice upon him, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which should ensue by their suffering him to escape, when God had brought him into their hands."\*

It would be straying into too wide a field of inquiry to consider what effect the punishment of Charles I. had upon other kings and other peoples; but it is well to bear in mind that the remembrance that there had been men in England with the spirit to hold that kings, like other men, are degraded by crimes to the rank of felons, and the courage to put their convictions into

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\* Colonel Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. ii. pp. 155, 156.

execution, joined with the fear that there were men still living who might punish the son as they had punished the father, had a decisive influence in a most momentous crisis of our history. There is no doubt that the flight of James II. from Rochester, a flight disastrous to himself and very opportune for the cause of liberty, was really occasioned by the fear that his head was in danger if he fell into the hands of the partizans of the Prince of Orange.\*

Though the struggle had commenced as a war between the King and the Parliament, before it was over it had become in a great measure a war of classes. Fully two-thirds of the peers, and the greater part of the inferior nobility, had joined the Royal standard, and brought their retainers to fight against the trained bands of the towns and the yeomanry of the country. Many of the nobility had been killed; many had exhausted all their resources in raising men and money for the King; and many of them had forfeited their estates. The Crown lands, as well as those of the Church, had been sold, and, as Ludlow tells us, had fetched a good price, such was the confidence then reposed in the Parliament.†

In short, a process which had been slowly going on for generations had been violently hastened by the Civil Wars. A great shifting of power had taken place; but this was accomplished by a great change in men's opinions, and a great change in the distribution of property. The throne was overturned along with the King. The feudal nobility had taken part with him, and feudalism had perished in the struggle. The English Commonwealth was, therefore, not a merely superficial change of government, brought about by artifice or by violence; but a great revolution, in which the foundation was altered as well as the superstructure, to use the words of Harrington, the greatest political writer of the Republicans of England.

These wonderful events produced a mighty commotion all over Europe. There had been nothing like it since Luther had burnt the Papal Bulls on the market-place at Wittemberg. That a people should send forth opposing armies to slaughter one another, solely to prove that they were the moveable property of this or that prince by inheritance or election—that a sovereign should be hunted away by his barons, or murdered by his own relations within his palace walls—these were things for which men's minds were already prepared; but when the news came—

“How a most potent king, after he had trampled upon the laws of the nation, and given a shock to its religion, and begun to rule at his

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Macaulay, vol. ii. chap. x. p. 587.

† Ludlow, vol. i. p. 299.

own will and pleasure, was at last subdued in the field by his own subjects, who had undergone a long slavery under him; how afterwards he was cast into prison, and when he gave no ground, either by words or actions, to hope better things of him, he was finally, by the supreme council of the kingdom, condemned to die, and beheaded before the very gates of the royal palace"—

was something so unheard of, something so different from universal sentiment and the tradition of ages of feudal servitude, that even in Republican states like Holland the execution of the King was at first loudly condemned. One of the best known of those who gave expression to the feeling of indignation against the leaders of the English Revolution was Salmasius, a man whose principal qualification was skill in Latin composition. To John Milton, the ardent disciple of Republican principles, the Parliament committed the task of justifying the Republican cause. Not only could Milton write Latin with ease and elegance, but he possessed the talent of a keen controversialist, a bitter satirist, and a learned political writer. In a work which was read all over Europe he pulled to pieces the loosely spun inventions, and mercilessly exposed the ignorance of the pedant who had rushed into a controversy with so mighty an antagonist. The Parliament showed, by a present of a thousand pounds, their approval of the eloquent advocate, and many of the most distinguished men in Europe expressed their admiration of the "*Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*."

Salmasius had been held in great esteem at the Court of Queen Christina of Sweden; but after hearing the work of Milton read to her, there was such a change in her demeanour, that the unfortunate advocate of Royal rights left the Court and kingdom.\* The author of the "*Clamor Regii Sanguinis*" complains that the work of the most accomplished Salmasius has borne but one impression; "but of what the most execrable Milton has spitefully elaborated to ruin the reputation of the deceased king, and to destroy the hereditary succession of the crown, there are so many editions, that I am uncertain to which of them I should refer my reader." Men like Vane, Harrington, and Milton, who had travelled widely, and were versed in history and politics, could find many things to nourish their love of Republican institutions; but to most men in England these ideas flashed with the dazzling strength of novelty, and in the confusion of their old political traditions many sought the guidance of the only book of which they knew anything, or, at least, the book which they regarded as containing more than the wisdom of all the others. In the histories of the Twelve Tribes, in the

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\* Toland's "*Life of Milton*." London: 1761, pp. 81, 91.

imprecations of the prophets against the idolatrous Kings of Israel and Judah, and in the social equality of the New Testament they saw the justification of the deeds of the Long Parliament; while from the prophecies of the Apocalypse they judged the time was at hand for the Millennium and the reign of the Saints. With all the wildness of religious and political fanaticism combined, men of a fervid imagination presented their theories as an infallible remedy for the healing of the nations. Their fancies were rendered still more startling by the grotesque adaptation of Oriental imagery which they drew from the Old Testament. But the very purity of their motives rendered them so headstrong, and so little apt to agree amongst one another, that there was little danger of any change being carried out really detrimental to the fabric of society. Many impracticable enthusiasts, of divers opinions, were no doubt included under the nickname of the Levellers who have been accused of Socialistic views, though it appears that they did not claim any more than the permission to cultivate the wastes and commons for their support.\* Colonel Hutchinson, one of the best of the Independents, a noble-hearted soldier, an amiable and moderate man, and a true friend to the Commonwealth, befriended them as far as he could. He also strove to gain toleration for George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends.

But while the greater part of men of all parties maintained with undoubting fervour the infallible authority of the Scriptures, and the doctrines in general acceptance amongst the leading Reformers, there were men like Milton who differed widely on important articles of the creed, and Deists like Martin Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, and Nevil, whose desire for a better state of things was unblended with any tinge of the popular theology.

It is unnecessary to detail the religious differences of the Presbyterians and Independents, parties which still exist and retain some of their old religious spirit. To the historian the most important difference between them is, that the Independents were disposed to concede toleration to the other sects, and that the greater number of the Presbyterians were ready to sacrifice political aims in order to obtain the predominance of their own religious views, and that they held it a sin to tolerate a false religion. The Independents had on their side by far the ablest men in the Commonwealth. Fairfax himself appears to have belonged to that persuasion, though his wife, who was ruled by Presbyterian ministers, exerted a powerful influence

\* "Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson," vol. ii. pp. 129, 130 London: 1810.—Whitelocke's "Memoirs," p. 383.

over him. It had been better for the new Republic if Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir Henry Vane had held closer together, for the one seemed destined to be the head, the other the right arm of the State. The prevailing idea that Fairfax was a man of narrow capacity, save in military matters, is not easily reconciled with many things in Mr. Markham's interesting biography, which we welcome as a new and valuable tribute of justice to the heroes of the Commonwealth.

The selection of Fairfax's poems, published at the end of the volume, have a grace and meditative sweetness which one would scarcely have looked for from the heroic leader who cleft his way through the Royalist horse and foot, and took a standard with his own hand at the battle of Naseby.

Unhappily, Fairfax was no politician. Mr. Markham, who is not without the weakness of biographers, both before Boswell and after Carlyle, to treat their heroes as the beavers did Pau-Puk-Keewis in Longfellow's poem :—

“ Here they made him large and larger,  
Made him larger than the beavers,  
Ten times larger than the others.”

But in this respect he has to give him up.

“ A consummate general, a cultivated gentleman, the very soul of honour and straightforward dealing, he yet had no talent for politics. The wordy contention and finesse of a statesman's life were distasteful to him ; any enterprize, or any business which was not as open as noonday, was to him an impossibility.”

Vane, on the contrary, was a great statesman, though, according to Bishop Burnet, he was deficient in military courage. Yet his conduct when Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, as well as his noble firmness at his trial and execution, appear inconsistent with this imputation. He was always disposed to be merciful to his vanquished adversaries ; he protested against the violent exclusion of the Presbyterians from the House ; he shocked Principal Baillie by advocating religious toleration—a heresy at that time unheard of in Scotland ; and voluntarily gave up to the State the large emoluments, said to have been worth 30,000*l.* per annum, which he might have drawn from the post of Treasurer of the Navy—an amount of self-denial not very common amongst politicians in any country. The Puritans, if they failed in making a republic in England, succeeded in laying the foundation of one in America ; and Sir Henry Vane claims a place in the history of the New World,\* as before the Civil Wars he had

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See the noble tribute to the memory of Vane, in “ Bancroft's History the United States,” vol. ii. chap. xi.



been chosen governor of Massachusetts by the voice of the colonists.

There were two measures which had a decisive influence in turning the tide of war in favour of the Commonwealth—the Self-denying Ordinance and the treaty which secured the assistance of the Scottish army, that overran the northern counties of England, and fought so bravely at Marston Moor. Sir Henry Vane bore a leading part in these two measures; as Clarendon says of the Commissioners who were sent to Scotland by the Long Parliament—"The others need not be named, since Sir Harry was all in any business where others joined with him." Of a deeply enthusiastic temperament, Vane had some eccentric views in religion, and was fond of preaching. "He and his party," says Burnet, "were called *Seekers*, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestation. His friends told me he leaned to Origen's notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and damned, and to the doctrine of pre-existence."

Cromwell is the third of the men of the Commonwealth signalized in the sonnets of Milton. Oliver Cromwell must always stand out as an extremely striking figure in history, and to such characters it seems a besetting tendency of the human mind to trace all the remarkable events that occur around them. This process had commenced in the days of Bossuet, who, in his magnificent funeral oration, delivered in 1669, upon Henrietta Maria, Queen of Great Britain, thus explains how so many warring factions and incompatible sects could be united to conspire against that exemplary king who had married the aunt of Louis XIV. :—

"Un homme s'est rencontré d'une profondeur d'esprit incroyable, hypocrite raffiné autant qu'habile politique, capable de tout entreprendre et de tout cacher, également actif et infatigable dans la paix et dans la guerre, qui ne laissait rien à la fortune de ce qu'il pouvait lui ôter par conseil et par prévoyance, mais au reste si vigilant et si prêt à tout qu'il n'a jamais manqué les occasions qu'elle lui a présentées; enfin un de ces esprits remuans et audacieux qui semblent être nés pour changer le monde."

This Satanic personage is, of course, Oliver Cromwell. In our own country, and in our own times, a vigorous writer has succeeded in imbuing many of the reading public with an unreasoning admiration of the Puritan hero, partly by the grotesque power of his style and partly by denying all credit to those who did as much or more than Cromwell in the memorable events in which he bore a part.

With Mr. Carlyle, Cromwell's adversaries are always wrong, and the only thing wrong about Cromwell is that he was not born

a Scotchman.\* Carlyle's work is a political extravaganza. How can we reason with a man who shows such an undisguised contempt for the accepted maxims of political and social morality, who often decides historical questions upon sheer partiality and caprice, and who, writing hundreds of years after the events, betrays all the virulence of a contemporary pamphleteer, and re-echoes the cant of a sect whose creed he regards as outworn? Though Mr. Carlyle's historical notes are full of eloquent and pithy remarks, in our opinion the principal merit of his well-known work is the "Dryasdust" diligence with which he has given us a careful edition of the "Letters and Speeches of Cromwell."

Mr. Carlyle's vehement admiration of men of action, especially when they are rough and unscrupulous, and have availed themselves of the privilege of shedding much blood either in battle or by judicial massacre, has always seemed to us a species of morbid reaction in the mind of a man who has led a sedentary life, written much, debated little and never acted, and who is described as being a man of much kindness of heart in private life.

Those who set out with the view that Oliver Cromwell was either a military saint, only mindful of the public good, or a self-seeking and unscrupulous hypocrite, will soon find themselves in the face of difficulties which they will hardly explain to the satisfaction of any who calmly seek the original sources of his history. While still in a private station he might have appeared without ambition, because there was no prize within his reach sufficient to tempt a mind so lofty and powerful as his. At this obscure period of his life he was occupied with religion, not with politics; nor did his mind ever lose the powerful tinge of Puritanism, as is apparent from his letters. On his deathbed, looking back, perhaps, with some misgiving on the means which he had used to gain the worldly greatness that was now fading away, he asked Goodwin, a minister of his persuasion, "If it were true that the elect could never fall?" "Nothing more certain," said the preacher. "Then I am safe," replied Oliver, "for I am sure that I once was in a state of grace!"

Though above forty years of age before he ever engaged in war, his great military talents appeared at once. Of a powerful and manly figure, with a stern and commanding air, strong and bold in battle, loud and fervid in prayer, he gained a wonderful control over the minds of the Puritan troopers who entered his regiment. His talents in war, as in statesmanship, consisted rather in seizing

\* "With Oliver born Scotch, one sees not that the whole world might have become Puritan."—*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*. London: 1865, vol. ii. p. 153.

upon opportunities than in creating them. His mind wanted comprehensiveness. He never proved himself a great general like Marlborough, Napoleon, or Von Moltke; but he hardly let slip a chance, and though keen and bold, was never rash. His private life was austere and decorous, though he occasionally indulged in rough practical jokes. He seems to have been a kind husband and father. His was not a nature to yield, like Napoleon, to small temptations. His great political insight rose above his religious fatalism; his ambition surmounted his religious scruples, because his natural character always asserted itself when called into action by great events. Of all self-delusions, the most easy for a man of great capacity for command in high and difficult enterprises, is to believe himself necessary to the public welfare. His wonderful good fortune he regarded as a token of the favour of Providence, and the unfair means which he used to attain to power were readily excused by the idea that God had placed the destinies of England in his hand, and that he was, to use his own expression, a high constable to preserve the peace among the several parties in the nation.

Cromwell's conviction that he was an instrument in the hands of God to play a great part in human affairs, never led him to neglect a single worldly precaution. Julius Cæsar, who believed in no higher power and necessity than the forces of blind matter, went unarmed and unguarded amongst the enemies whom he had conquered and forgiven; but the predestinarian Protector, in the midst of his own guards, wore armour under his clothes and carried loaded pistols in his pocket. He neglected no art of the most worldly diplomatist, and was very skilful in obtaining secret intelligence and confounding his enemies, or leading them into traps by skilful suggestions through his spies. Men like Vane, Ludlow, and Hutchinson had been long aware of his ambitious designs. There are always some people too acute to be deceived; but this in public affairs matters little; for the majority of human beings are so often led astray by false appearances or shallow artifices that it is generally sufficient for a statesman to succeed in keeping the greater part of a nation in uncertainty as to his character while he holds the affection of a strong and united party.

As a member of the Long Parliament, his powerful nature and vehement convictions led him occasionally to rise and speak; but as an orator and debater he could not hope for success. Nobody but Mr. Carlyle ever believed him able to make a speech. Some discourses which he made when Protector have come down to us. They are tedious, badly arranged, for the most part poorly expressed, rambling, often almost unintelligible; but by a singular contradiction, no man ever saw more

clearly the drift of the events in which he bore a part, nor knew better how to use the hopes, the fears, the passions, and the prejudices of men for his own advantage, or understood more nicely how to lead his adversaries into false positions.

A man like Cromwell could effect nothing without tools ready to his hand; and these he found in the army which the Civil War had called into existence, and which the public danger still rendered to a certain extent necessary.

The army of the Commonwealth was something very different from our own regular force. The officers, selected for their ability and bravery in action from men of all classes, were naturally more efficient than the officers of our day under the legalized corruption and insolent supercession of the purchase system. The men who now make up our regiments have no doubt the high military spirit which has always belonged to the British soldier, but most assuredly little of the religious spirit, the austere morality, or the steady self-respect of the soldiers of Fairfax and Cromwell. The excitement of the times filled the ranks of the armies of the Parliament with men who possessed in no common measure the independent spirit and religious zeal of the English people. It was as impossible to repress the voice of their political convictions as to put down the wild militant harangues in which these armed saints indulged at the intervals of parade and battle. They beat the soldiers of Rupert and Goring as much by their superior moral conduct and discipline as by their unflinching bravery in the field.

In point of personal subordination and outward respect to their officers we have drawn the articles of war more strictly; but on the other hand we are obliged to condone with practices which would have excited the horror of the Puritan pikemen and troopers of Marston Moor, Naseby, and Dunbar. We read in Whitelocke's "*Memoirs*"\* of some of the soldiers of Fairfax and Cromwell being hanged for plundering and for desertion, tied neck and heels together and exposed to public gaze for stealing, being whipped for fornication, and having their tongues bored for blaspheming, punishments which could only have been inflicted, under the circumstances, with the approval of the rest, and which we fear no commanding officer could enforce at Aldershot. Our regular soldiers, regarded simply as the servants of the Executive Government, have no votes; but under the Long Parliament it was impossible to prevent those who had left their workshops or their freeholds to defend the liberties of England from having a voice in public affairs. The Independents and

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\* See pp. 271, 406, 423, 430, 443, 452, 453, 487, for examples of the stern discipline enforced upon the soldiers of the Commonwealth.

other Sectaries had found their way in large numbers into the ranks; and many of them rose to high command, either by their own merits or by the favour of Cromwell, who took great trouble to officer the army with men upon whose aid he might count to forward his ambitious views. Nevertheless, the bulk of the army, and a large proportion of the officers remained attached to the end to the ideal of a Commonwealth.

While the Parliament was still negotiating with the King the Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons had offended the soldiers by proposing to disband them without paying up their arrears of pay which had been long due. They formed a species of military Parliament consisting of two delegates from each regiment, and issued petitions and remonstrances which had all the force of commands. Fairfax, who was disposed to maintain the authority of the civil power, was obliged again and again to choose between losing all his influence by resigning his post of commander-in-chief, or suffering his name to be affixed, by Cromwell, Ireton, and other military politicians, to documents of which he did not approve.

A dangerous mutiny which broke out in the army in the spring of 1649 was traced to the unruly spirit of the Levellers. It was quelled by the energy and skill of Fairfax, seconded by Cromwell. The insubordinate feeling amongst the soldiers was checked, but both officers and men became, the longer they continued under arms, more and more averse to return to civil employments.

In Ireland the Earl of Ormond, one of the ablest of the Cavalier party, had succeeded in uniting into one loose confederacy his own cavaliers, the old Irish party, and the Scotch of Ulster. Owen Roc O'Neal, the general of the old Irish party, had offered to submit to the Commonwealth, if security to their lives, estates, and religions were accorded; but this had been refused. It was designed that Ireton should debark with a detached force in Munster, but owing to stormy weather he was compelled to land with Cromwell's armament in Dublin. Colonel Michael Jones who held that city for the Parliament against Ormond's army had by a well-timed sally put the besiegers to rout, and Cromwell, now at the head of sixteen or seventeen thousand men, advanced upon Drogheda, which had been recently taken by the enemy, the Parliamentary garrison being allowed to march to Dublin, or to return to their homes. A breach was made and stormed after a strenuous resistance, Cromwell leading on his men for the second time to the assault.

"I believe," writes Cromwell, "we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants; I do not think thirty of the whole."



number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes. This," he adds, "hath been a marvellous great mercy." According to Ludlow the garrison consisted of about three thousand men, mostly of English birth, who therefore could not be accounted guilty of the massacres of Ulster. In a much less civilized age, Froissart, a favourite guest at the English court, ventures to condemn the massacre of the inhabitants of Limoges by the Black Prince; and Cromwell must appeal for an example to the butcheries of Alexander of Parma, Des Adrets and Count Tilly. The course of history scarcely justifies the assumption that to refuse to take prisoners at a siege or a battle really relaxes the resistance of a spirited people, and a merciless use of victory often leaves a deadly legacy of hate to the victors. Though Trim and Dundalk were abandoned the massacre of Drogheda had to be repeated at Wexford, and Waterford resisted so vigorously that Cromwell was forced to raise the siege.

The subjugation of Ireland was completed by Ireton and Ludlow. The death of Ireton at the siege of Limerick is bewailed by the Republican Party, of which he was one of the ablest and most uncompromising leaders. He was the son-in-law of Cromwell, and those who knew them both by personal intercourse expressed their belief that, had he lived, his personal influence might have restrained the ambition of Cromwell, and saved the cause for which they both so bravely fought. Cromwell returned to England after an absence of nine months with the glory of having revenged the Papist massacres, and led the troops of England to victory against a detested enemy. His aspiring character was now so well known that the Parliament was not anxious that he should gain any further distinction. Fairfax, who still held the office of commander-in-chief, was ordered to take the head of the army to be sent against the Scotch, who, after beheading Montrose, had proclaimed Charles II. king, on his signing the Solemn League and Covenant.

But Fairfax's wife had so successfully wrought on the misgivings of a highly conscientious mind, that the general would not accept this commission. He considered that the Scotch had a right to choose what king they pleased; but declared his readiness to take up arms should they invade England. A committee consisting of Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelocke was sent to induce him to change his mind, but without avail.

Fairfax, who seemed destined, from his military skill and his unselfish love of his country, to be the guardian of its liberties, in an evil hour retired into private life. To use the words of

Mrs. Hutchinson, he "now died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out;"\* and Cromwell was now first in the race for power.

In his invasion of Scotland he had to meet, for the first time, a general of real ability and established reputation. David Lesley, the commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, had been in the left wing at the battle of Marston Moor, where he had come out of the fray with more reputation than Oliver and his famous regiments of horse.† Ordered to return to his own country, to meet the Marquis of Montrose, he had at Philiphaugh surprised and defeated the greatest of all the Cavalier generals, and put an end at one blow to the hopes of Charles I. in Scotland.

It is clear that Lesley did not consider the organization and discipline of his army to be at all equal to that of the Commonwealth, though he had the advantage of superior numbers. Some of the Scottish army must have seen service, but a large proportion was undisciplined and officered either by the unruly nobility of Scotland, or "by ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures." Scotland was at that time under the rule of the clergy, an unpractical, fanatical, and wrangling set of men, who introduced their theological deductions into the politics of the day, were very zealous in burning witches, and not ashamed to interfere with conscientious stiffness in the military councils, while they injured the discipline of the soldiers by their unruly preaching. Four thousand Cavaliers, numbering among them many stout soldiers, were ignominiously expelled from the ranks as unworthy to fight in the sanctified host of the Covenant. Cromwell, on the other hand, had officered his army with men of proved courage and skill. He had sixteen thousand veteran soldiers, whose religious zeal, as deep as that of the Covenanters, was increased by a political enthusiasm approach-

\* "Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson," vol. ii. p. 172. Whitelocke's "Memoirs," pp. 44, 45.

† "On the whole, we must conclude that, from some cause or other Cromwell and his men did pause at a critical moment, when David Lesley dashed on to the charge, and met Rupert's horse in full career, giving the troopers of Manchester's brigade time to recover themselves and support him."—*Markham's Life of Fairfax*, chap. xvi. p. 168.

Mr. Markham adds in a note:—"Cromwell himself, in a letter to his brother-in-law, assumes the whole credit of the defeat of the Royalist right, certainly at the expense both of truth and honour. He says: 'The left wing which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords.' (Letter to Valentine Walton, *Correspondence*, i. p. 152.) Now, the 'few Scots' consisted of 1920 men out of 4200, and Cromwell's assertion that they were in the rear is contradicted by every other eye-witness who mentions them."

ing to that of the armies of the first French Republic. Hard experience in war had convinced these stern warriors of the need of the restraints of discipline, and filled their minds with an unshaken confidence in the skill and fortune of their general. Lesley's plan was a modification of one which had often baffled the whole strength of England. He withdrew all the people, with their cattle and moveable effects, from the districts exposed to invasion to remote places, natural fastnesses, or entrenched positions. With a considerable army he held the capital, which he connected with Leith, its seaport town, by strong lines of entrenchments. Cromwell, who advanced from Berwick-upon-Tweed, found the country deserted, and had to draw provisions from the fleet. He approached Edinburgh without opposition, and encamped first on one side of it, and then on the other. Lesley drew up his men on Arthur's Seat, and then on Corstorphine Hill; but Cromwell judged those positions too strong to be attacked, and not daring to force Lesley's entrenchments, and his own army suffering much from disease and exposure, he returned to Dunbar, pursued and harassed by his wary adversary, who always took care to encamp in strong positions, where he could fight to great advantage.

We do not see how it can be denied that up to this point all the generalship had been in favour of David Lesley. Cromwell had invaded Scotland with a force which he judged not strong enough to attack the enemy as long as they thought it proper to remain in a strong position. He had totally failed to draw Lesley upon more equal ground, and now he was in full retreat for the English frontier, with his forces much diminished by sickness and exposure; and, what was worse, he had allowed his line of retreat to be cut off; for Lesley had seized the narrow path at Cockburn's Path, between Dunbar and Berwick, where, as Cromwell himself wrote, "ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way." Cromwell's intention was to send back his artillery by sea, and try to make his way with the cavalry and infantry to Berwick. Had the Scottish general persisted in his strategy for a week longer, it is possible that he might have cut off Cromwell's army, or at any rate, they would have made their way to England in a sorry condition, with numbers much reduced, and with the reputation of their general irreparably injured.

Unfortunately, Lesley was overruled by the Committee of Estates and Kirk,\* and, much against his own opinion, allowed

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\* Mr. Carlyle, who never hesitates to overrule any authority that cannot be twisted his own way, writes ("Cromwell's Letters," vol. ii. p. 183):—"A vague story, due to Bishop Burnet, the watery source of many such, still

his army to leave their strong position on the heights above Dunbar. Cromwell immediately advanced to the attack, when the Scottish army was seized with one of those panics which occasionally strike ill disciplined armies on first meeting a more steady adversary. They ran, as the Netherlanders did at Jemmingen, as the Federals did at Bull's Run, as the English themselves had done at Newburn. Though Cromwell, who, like all despatch writers, was willing to make the most of a victory, called it "a hot dispute for about an hour," and says that "the enemy made a gallant resistance," he lets out details which show that it was a very different affair either from Flodden or Bannockburn. Writing of his cavalry, he says, "After their first repulse the enemy were made as stubble to their swords. I do not believe we have lost twenty men." He mentions thirty in two other letters; Whitelocke forty. The Scotch lost 3000 killed, and 10,000 prisoners, with thirty pieces of artillery. Few but mounted men escaped. "Surely," writes Cromwell, with that clear sagacity of the state of things with which he was gifted, "it is probable the Kirk has done their doe. I believe the King will be set upon his own score now, wherein he will find many friends."

Charles II., according to Clarendon, rejoiced at the disaster, thinking it would strengthen the Royalist party.

Scotland had met with even greater loss in battles with the English, and had yet been able to recover itself and drive out the invader; and such might have happened again, notwithstanding the vigour and farther successes of Cromwell, who well knowing the great difficulties of his un-

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circulates about the world, that it was the Kirk Committee who forced Lesley down against his will; that Oliver at sight of it exclaimed, 'The Lord hath delivered, &c.,' which nobody is in the least bound to believe." And why not? because Bishop Burnet drew the vague story (how vague?) from his uncle, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warristoun, a leading member of the Committee, who of course did not know so well as Thomas Carlyle writing from inspiration. As Carlyle must have known, Burnet is not the only original writer who gives this story. It is to be found in Cromwell's own letter:—"Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.—I hear when the enemy marched last up to us, the ministers pressed their army to interfere between us and home, the chief officers desiring rather that we might have way made, though it were by a golden bridge. But the clergy's council prevailed, to their no great comfort, through the goodness of God." Compare Whitelocke's "Memoirs," p. 455: "The ministers carryed it to fight." Baillic, in his "Letters," Edinburgh, 1775, vol. ii. p. 350, says the matter was investigated at Stirling, but no fault was found with Lesley save "the Removal of the army from the hill the night before the rout which yet was in consequence of the Committee's orders, contrary to his mind." These authors wrote from sources quite independent of Burnet, a most respectable authority, whom it is a worn-out affectation to pretend to despise. See also Aikman's "History of Scotland," Edinburgh, 1832, vol. iv. p. 399, and Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. vii.



dertaking,\* was anxious to conciliate and gain over the Covenanting party, had not Charles succeeded in persuading the Scotch to trust their remaining force, about eighteen thousand men, in a desperate march into the heart of England, in the hopes that the Royalists would join them to seat him on the English throne. They were easily surrounded and cut off at Worcester, as the Duke of Hamilton's army, of nearly the same strength, had been cut off at Preston, two years before. The country thus shorn of its military strength was subdued by Monk, and Cromwell remained in England with the reputation of having reduced two kingdoms to dependence upon the English Commonwealth.

The Parliament was profuse in its rewards and professions of gratitude, a feeling not unmingled with fear: for the ambitious designs of Cromwell were every day more manifest.

No Government that has been in England ever brought so many difficult enterprises to a successful termination as the Long Parliament. They had quelled the King and nobility, pacified Ireland, and established their authority over Scotland, not less by the ability of their generals, and the discipline and valour of their soldiers, than by their own administrative skill and their well appointed commissariat. The English navy, which, in the reign of Charles I., had not been always able to protect the Channel against the Algerine rovers, now bore the flag of the English Commonwealth in triumph through the seas. Organized anew by the unrivalled talent of Vane, Blake, who had commenced his career of arms at the age of fifty, and distinguished himself by his gallant defence of Taunton, compelled the King of Portugal, who had received the squadron of Prince Rupert into the Tagus, to crave the forbearance of the English Republic, after seeing twenty rich merchantmen carried off before his eyes. In a war which unhappily arose with the neighbouring Republic of Holland, the Dutch, after several bloody sea fights, were compelled to send ambassadors to sue for peace to the Long Parliament, which some writers tell us had sunk into contempt.

Affairs were managed by a Council of State of thirty-nine members, subject to the approval of Parliament. They were elected yearly, and were divided into five committees. After the Self-denying Ordinance had been suspended Sir Harry Vane was again put at the head of the navy, while Fairfax had charge

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\* Cromwell, on hearing of the march into England, wrote to the Parliament:—"If some issue were not put upon this business, it would occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiers, for whom the Scots are too hard, in respect of enduring the winter's difficulty of that country."—*White-locke's Memoirs*, p. 475.



of the army. Cromwell, Skippon, Hutchinson, and Whitelocke, the brave, honest, and steadfast Ludlow, and Harry Marten, by far the wittiest, and one of the wisest members of the Long Parliament, were also members of the Council. Milton was secretary for foreign tongues.

The Long Parliament had been reduced, by successive disqualifications and proscriptions, to about 150 names, and could not thus claim to represent the public opinion of England. For twelve years they had been in power, and conducted most of the business of the nation. They had put down many opponents, and punished some of them with great severity; they had refused many favours, and made many enemies. The military officers when they understood that the army would be reduced, were as uneasy as the lawyers when they heard that the law courts were to be reformed; and councils of officers were held to discuss the state of affairs. Cromwell took every occasion to increase the clamours that they raised against the Long Parliament, and to unite all parties in their hostility against an assembly which, by its delay in giving the country an opportunity to express its opinion by a new election, had aroused the discontent even of Republicans like Milton. It may be said for the Long Parliament, that being anxious lest, in proclaiming a Republic, they had made an advance on popular opinion, they desired to familiarize the people with their theory of government before they sent it to be debated on the hustings: as Harry Marten put it, recalling that Moses was sent by Pharaoh's daughter to nurse. "Their commonwealth was yet an infant of a weak growth, and a very tender constitution, and therefore his opinion was that nobody could be so fit to nurse it as the mother who brought it forth, and that they should not think of putting it under any other hands till it had attained more years and vigour." Their notion of a Republic did not imply universal suffrage, or anything like the pure government of majorities; hence we find Milton denying the right of a majority to make a king to deprive an intelligent minority of their liberties. The Republican cause was strongest in the middle classes, and they had the nobility, and perhaps the lower classes, against them; but they were by far the ablest, the purest, the noblest, and the most energetic party in the nation.

What their exact strength would have proved, had Cromwell supported the Government instead of turning against it, is a question impossible to answer; but it is clear, from the results of every election until that of 1660, when the nation, disbelieving the ability of the Republicans to protect it from military rule, or what was worse, armed anarchy, threw itself in a mad passion of terror and loyalty at the feet of the worthless son of the be-

headed tyrant—that up to that date the Republicans were a strong and influential party, and numbered amongst them the ablest men of England. Neither the force, the bribes, nor the fraud of Cromwell at his corrupt elections were sufficient to gain him a Parliament free from a menacing Republican opposition. He was compelled to dissolve them all, and to rule with the sword alone. Had the Republicans continued to hold the reins of power, we believe they might have established an English Republic. There is no evidence that at the time of Cromwell's usurpation the country would have voted back the Stuarts at a general election.

M. de Bordeaux, the French ambassador in London, in his correspondence, which has been published by Guizot, who watched the state of affairs in England with a glance at once calm and scrutinizing, evidently did not consider the establishment of a Republic anything unlikely after the death of Oliver, until the people clearly saw the dangers to which they were exposed by the turbulent military chiefs, who were eager to imitate the example of the Protector. These distinguished statesmen thought, and we believe thought rightly, that this was a favourable moment to establish a Republic in England. They wished to make England free and great and happy, and might have given her a brighter history, had it not been for the interference of a selfish and ambitious man, who, by his usurpation, committed a greater outrage to liberty than the crime for which he did so much to bring Charles to the block, and who, by establishing military rule, laid the way for the return of the Stuarts.

When it was known that the Parliament, urged on by Sir Henry Vane, was actually passing a bill for its own dissolution, Cromwell, perceiving that if he did not act at once, his grievance and his opportunity were gone together, stepped into the House during the debate, and just before the vote of the dissolution of the Parliament was going to be taken, snatched the Act of Dissolution that was about to pass from the hands of the clerk,\*

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\* Mr. Carlyle, "on good evidence," which, however, he does not give us, says that the Bill contained a clause that all the members of the sitting Parliament should retain their seats, and that they should have power to exclude any elected members obnoxious to them. It is singular nothing of this occurs either in Whitelocke's or Ludlow's "Memoirs," nor in Mr. Forster's attempt to sketch the contents of the Bill, which, as is well known, was lost, being probably destroyed by Cromwell. (See "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," vol. iii. pp. 157-162.) Many features of the Bill were copied by Cromwell in the formation of his Parliaments. The Bill proposed to reform that inequality of representation of different localities which was not finally remedied till the Reform Bill of 1832. The number of members was fixed at 400; this included representatives from Scotland and Ireland. Members were to be given to the counties in proportion to the taxes paid by them, and all men were admitted to be electors who were worth 200*l.* in lands, leases, or goods.

hurled abusive epithets at some of his old friends, and drove out the members with a company of armed men who had been waiting his orders. He then dissolved the Council of State, and took upon himself the whole direction of affairs. The motives and intentions of Cromwell in expelling the Parliament were for some time variously interpreted. But conscious that he had the army on his side, the Republicans offered no resistance. “‘We do not even hear a dog bark at their going,’ said Cromwell, in his coarse delight at his triumph” (Guizot). On the other hand, Whitelocke remarks, in his sober, sententious way:—

“All honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this unworthy action.

“This occasioned much rejoycing in the king’s party, who now daily expected the destruction of Cromwell and his party and army, yet made great applications and congratulations to him.”

Whatever may be said against particular members of the Long Parliament, we believe that its leaders, like Vane, Ludlow, Bradshaw, Sidney, Hutchinson, Haslerig, and Harrington, were men of incorruptible integrity, and that this illustrious assembly deserved what Ludlow\* said of them; “and however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity that they were a disinterested and impartial Parliament, who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not in all that time give away amongst themselves as much as their forces spent in three months—no, not so much as they spent in one—from the time that the Parliament consisted but of one house, and the Government was formed into a Commonwealth.”

This is the judgment of a friend. Let us spare room for one sentence for the praise of an enemy :†—“And to say the truth, they were of a race of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour nor by importunity.” They conducted the administration of the country with great efficiency and with great economy; they were tolerant in religion, and anxious to bring about reforms.

Like all military usurpers, Cromwell tried by a vigorous

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\* Ludlow’s “Memoirs,” p. 453.

† Roger Coke. See the opinions of some friends and enemies of the Long Parliament in Godwin’s “History of the Commonwealth of England.” London: 1827; vol. iii. book iii. chap. xxviii.; and Forster’s “Statesmen of the Commonwealth,” Lives of Sir Henry Vane and Cromwell, vols. iii. and v. On the other side, see the remarks of Hallam, “Constitutional History,” vol. ii. chap. x. p. 325; of Guizot’s “History of the English Commonwealth and of Cromwell,” vol. i. pp. 341-348.

foreign policy to make the people forget the liberties of which he had deprived them. Great as a soldier, he was even greater as a politician; but his rule was certainly neither more vigorous nor more efficient than that of the Long Parliament. He came to power with a large and disciplined standing army and a well-equipped fleet, manned by sailors who had just defeated the greatest naval power in Europe. His foreign policy fulfilled its aim of rendering his name formidable in Europe; but it was not what a far-sighted statesman would have prosecuted had he thought only of his country's good. France was rising into the colossal monarchy which it became under the majority of Louis XIV. Spain, though still a great power, was sinking into decline. Both nations were anxious for the alliance of England. Mazarin, who was eager in his professions of friendship to the Protector, trembled at his name. By lending a small contingent to France against Spain, Cromwell triumphed in the field of European politics with a trifling exertion of military force, while he pleased English vanity by the useless conquest of Dunkirk. He did his best to accelerate the downfall of Spain and promote the rise of France; in short, he helped the work which, continued as it was by his successor, Charles II., caused William III. and Marlborough so much pains to undo. His attempt to surprise the island of St. Domingo during the time of peace with Spain is quite indefensible. It seems to have been badly planned, poorly executed, and met with the failure it deserved. The expedition repulsed at St. Domingo succeeded with little difficulty in mastering Jamaica, which still remains to us as the sole legacy of the foreign policy of Cromwell. The treachery of the action was certainly not condemned by public opinion so strongly as it ought to have been, though several naval officers were so shocked that they would no longer serve under Cromwell's government.

The magnanimous interference of Oliver to save the Vaudois from the persecution of the Duke of Savoy was successful through the interest of Mazarin, and not, as our English vanity is too apt to represent it, through the sheer terror of Cromwell's arms.\*

Cromwell's policy in Scotland was no doubt successful. He broke down two tyrannies—the tyranny of the nobility and the tyranny of the clergy—and accustomed a people, kept back by centuries of misrule and incessant struggles with a more powerful neighbour, to an uniform and orderly system of government. It was, however, bought at a dear price to Scotland. Three armies swept away, the prisoners taken in fair fight—some of them men who had drawn their swords for the liberties of England—were

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\* See Guizot, *ut cit.*, vol. ii. p. 224, 225, and Burnet, vol. i. chap. lxxvii. p. 131.



shipped to the plantations of New England and Barbadoes, as if they had been convicted felons.

Oliver's government of Ireland was intolerant and oppressive; though, like his other measures, it answered the immediate end which he had in view, and afforded a temporary appearance of success. His wholesale forfeitures of the lands of the native Irish, and his attempt to banish them into the province of Connaught, did as much as anything else to confirm that irreconcilable hatred to England which gives to this day so much insecurity to our empire. By encouraging the native Irish to leave their country for foreign service, Cromwell turned Ireland into a great recruiting depot for the armies of the Catholic powers, which continued till the time of the French Revolution. It is known that nearly half a million of Irishmen, during this period, took service in France; and on several occasions, as at Fontenoy, their fiery valour turned the tide of battle against a British army.

Some writers have held it out as a species of reproach to the English people that they would not allow Oliver to become a constitutional king, which it is assumed he wanted to be. This, however desirable, was, in the existing state of parties, impossible. The Royalists would not have a regicide to rule over them; nor the Republicans a king. The indifferent portion of the nation, wearied with civil war, were willing to suffer Cromwell as long as the army supported him. His large standing army—the first standing army that ever existed in England—while necessary to the maintenance of his power, was a source of embarrassment both to himself and to the country. The great expense of maintaining it compelled him to raise money in a violent and arbitrary manner. In spite of all the exactions of his major-generals, he left the country in debt. A military chief himself, he could only found a military despotism. The more unscrupulous generals, who stuck to him, each dreamed of being his successor, and could not bear the idea of a hereditary monarchy. Oliver lived to make all the best and bravest captains of the Commonwealth his enemies; all the old heroes of the Republic, Fairfax, Haslerig, Hutchinson, Alured Overton, Okey, shunned or opposed him. Harrison, the honest fanatic whom he had deluded, was thrown into prison; Lambert, the vain and ambitious schemer, was deprived of his employment, by the man who had used them as his main aids in expelling the Parliament. Some, like Ludlow and Blake, continued to serve under him, hoping for better things, and fearful of the conduct of affairs being left entirely in the hands of unscrupulous soldiers of fortune. Milton retained his post of Latin Secretary, but, as Guizot tells us, "he was admitted neither into the State



secrets nor into the intimacy of the Protector; to whom, as opportunity offered, he occasionally addressed the warmest eulogies and the most generous advice. He was quite conscious of the small amount of influence which he possessed, but he made no complaint.\* Perhaps the advice was the cause of his slight intimacy with the Protector, for Milton continued a sincere Republican.

According to Toland, "there is no trace of his activity in all the vast collection of Secretary Thurloe's papers." Had Cromwell rescued the country from actual anarchy, or from the imminent danger of anarchy, his usurpation might have been excused; but this is an assumption which can never be proved. Cromwell overthrew an able and well-conducted government, of which he himself ought to have been the defender. His great talents would have secured the success of the English Republic had he been a devoted and unselfish man like Washington; as it was, his usurpation was the cause of its failure. The considerations already adduced might be much strengthened by a review of what took place from the death of Oliver to the restoration of the Stuarts. But owing to the necessity of justifying our views by quotations and arguments, it has been impossible, in the space of a single article, to bring down the narrative any further. We shall therefore close for the time with the noble sonnet of Wordsworth:—

"Great men have been among us; hands that penned,  
And tongues that uttered wisdom, better none:  
The later Sydney, Marvel, Harrington,  
Young Vane, and others who called Milton friend.  
These moralists could act and comprehend;  
They knew how genuine glory was put on;  
Taught us how rightfully a nation shone  
In splendour; what strength was, that would not bend  
But in magnanimous meekness. France, 'tis strange,  
Hath brought forth no such souls as we had then.  
Perpetual emptiness! unceasing change!  
No single volume paramount, no code,  
No master spirit, no determined road!  
But equally a want of books and men!"

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\* Guizot, vol. ii. p. 169.

## ART. VI.—ARMY ORGANIZATION.

1. *Speech Delivered on the Second Reading of the Army Regulation Bill.* By G. O. TREVELYAN, M.P. for the Border Boroughs. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1871.
2. *Speeches and Debates in the House of Commons on the Army Estimates, and Army Regulation Bill.* *Vide Times'* reports; especially *Times* 17th February, 17th, 18th, and 24th March, 1871.

IN our last number we noticed at some length Mr. Cardwell's Bill for "The Better Regulation of the Regular and Auxiliary Land Forces of the Crown," and though well aware of how much we left still to be said on the subject, we should hardly have entered upon it again had not the persistently protracted opposition to that measure left it still an open question, and a question which seems in danger of being unworthily dealt with unless rescued by force of wholesome public opinion from the limbo of party obstructionists in the House. We have frankly expressed our disappointment with the scope of the Bill, of which we said the more correct title would be "A Bill for Abolishing the Sale of Commissions in Her Majesty's Army, and for enabling the Sovereign to constrain the services of certain portions of her subjects on occasions of great emergency." But as Ministers say, and we believe truly say, that no real reform or reorganization of the Army is possible until the abolition of the Purchase System is effected, we hope most sincerely the Bill will be carried this session; and it is in this spirit we revert to the subject. But we also remarked in our last number that the only symptom of real Army organization we could find in Mr. Cardwell's statement, was that relating to a division of the United Kingdom into military districts; a step unquestionably in the right direction; and it is to this point we more particularly wish to direct attention and consideration on this occasion. We are convinced that next to the abolition of the Purchase System, if not even before it, this is the most vital point to insist upon for the real efficiency of our land forces and national defence; the giving to each regiment a permanent regimental head-quarters or depôt, a recognised and established regimental home. It is the one point of the Prussian organization which it is perfectly safe and easy for us to adopt, but strange to say, it is the one point our Military authorities seem most averse to. It has always been contemptuously shunted by the Commissions which have reported on recruiting; and in all the numerous nostrums lately forthcoming on the subject of national defence, the only suggestion to

this effect, to the best of our recollection, has been from Mr. Trevelyan,\* the *bête noir* of our would-be military reformers. The great difficulty we have to deal with is to get men of the required sort in sufficient numbers to serve as soldiers. This is the difficulty to be faced—this is the difficulty to be overcome as the first step. Pay well enough, and you will always get as many men as you want, is easy to say and impossible to contradict; but to pay money wages that will generally tempt the manhood of our country to serve as soldiers in preference to the wages earned in other callings, we hold to be simply out of the question. We also hold that anything in the shape of conscription is equally out of the question. Lord Palmerston was wont to say to would-be importers of foreign institutions, “Ah, you say it answers most admirably in France (or Germany)! Just so; but you see we are not in France or Germany.” Lord Sandhurst, in his letter to Lord Elcho, expressed his grief and astonishment that our three branches of defensive forces, the Regulars, Militia, and Volunteers, were all working entirely independently of each other, if not in actual antagonism. Now with all due deference and respect for Lord Sandhurst’s unquestionable authority, surely this is but poor talking. We can no more ignore national prejudices than we can ignore climate, or any other physical particularity. It is useless to cry about it, or to hold up our hands against it. We English will not have conscription, or anything approaching to it; and that being the case, the various descriptions of defensive force which we have at command by voluntary enlistment will to a certain extent necessarily be worked on systems independent of each other; and were Lord Elcho Minister of War, and Lord Sandhurst Commander-in-Chief to-morrow, they would find Lord Palmerston’s reminder not to be got over. In essentials, in all details of drill and manœuvre, and in discipline when under arms, there must be absolute uniformity; in all other matters conformity to certain necessary principles embodied in a short and simple code of standing orders† is all that need be insisted on, or that should be attempted. But the first step towards

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\* We cannot mention this name without offering our tribute to the courageous, consistent, and able advocacy of the abolition of the iniquitous Purchase System by Sir Charles Trevelyan, and latterly by his son. That Mr. Cardwell’s Bill “took the wind out of the sails” of the latter, is true enough; but we have to thank him for raising the wind of public opinion which enabled, if it did not force, Ministers to steer this course.

† One point we should insist upon is, that for first commissions, for promotion, and appointment of adjutant, precisely the same examinations should be undergone as for officers in the Line. Uninstructed officers, whatever their social qualifications, are worse than useless for military purposes, however acceptable they and their uniforms may be at county balls.

getting the Line and Militia and Reserve and Volunteers to work harmoniously, and towards the possibility of establishing efficient working relations between them, is to localize our regiments. First of all give each regiment its permanent local headquarters or depôt, then set to work at the organization of the reserves; abolish the Militia reserve, which is simply in the way of any other reserve; ballot regularly, fairly, and without further ado, as the Constitution and present laws allow for the Militia. Without annoying pipe-clay interference, lay down certain plain rules and conditions to be accepted by the Volunteers.

“To Douglas leagued with Roderick Dhu,  
Will friends and allies flock enow.”

*League the Army with the country*; let there be a frank alliance in the matter,\* have somewhat more faith in human nature, and let us avail ourselves somewhat more of the good feelings that do exist in it—albeit so mixed up and clouded by the baser instincts which we seem contented alone to appeal to.

To the county regimental head-quarters recruits would come on a very different footing, and with very different feelings, to the present slinking after the sergeant into a pot-house; and they would soon gladly come in sufficient numbers. It is the absolute farewell to home, the entrance to an unknown domain, that make “listing for a soldier” the scare it is to respectably brought up lads; their parents look upon it as a sort of slough of despond; and it is not to be wondered at, while we do nothing to mend matters from their point of view. We are certain there is no single measure which would so greatly and immediately increase the efficiency of our Army directly and indirectly, morally, physically, and socially, as this of giving to each regiment a permanent station for its head-quarters or depôt. It would put

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\* We wish some able writer—Mr. J. S. Mill, for example—would take up this theme of “alliance.” It is a principle the world is much in want of. We hear a great deal about “co-operation,” but we want something different yet—something heartier, something higher, in religion, in diplomacy, in politics, in trade, and in domestic services. We want the recognition of a common aim, and of the necessity for united work to obtain it; a free, fair, and frank alliance on equal terms, however unequal may be, and must necessarily often be, the social or other conditions of the contracting parties. Not a patronizing condescension on the one hand, and a sullen or a servile obedience on the other; but a fair working together at the coach by leaders, wheelers, and driver. Our Navy, despite its comparative isolation, and its very strict discipline, has much more of this *alliance* principle in its composition than our Army; and “Jack Ashore,” from the Duke of Edinburgh downwards, is an institution linked far more fraternally (so to speak) with his countrymen than his soldier brother; and the necessity of having a Navy, and our obligations to it, are as willingly owned to and acknowledged, as the necessity of an Army and our obligations to it are reluctantly recognised, despite the periodical panics over our insufficient land defences.

recruiting on an altogether new and healthy footing. It would almost do away with desertion. It would enable us to have a race of soldiers. Why not have a race of soldiers? With all the improvements which have been made in the soldier's lot, very real and beneficent improvements we most willingly and gratefully acknowledge, still the female element has been and is persistently and shamefully ignored. Costly and revolting provisions and precautions are established in respect of prostitution, but marriage is utterly discouraged; and considering the insufficient, the frequently indecent arrangements for even the small percentage of married soldiers allowed, it is best it should be discouraged, for the poor women's sakes at any rate. We remember with indignation still, though it is now long years ago, how Lord Panmure answered a deputation from Birmingham on this subject—his exceedingly poor statement that marriage was discouraged as much as possible, and that nothing more could be done. And then the three Lieutenant-Colonels of the Guards must needs sign and send a letter to the *Times* to this same effect! We are no advocates for random marriages, but we do advocate marriage as a beneficent divinely appointed ordinance; and we do protest against prostitution as a horribly baneful and devilish one. And we deliberately assert that with a very moderate amount of proper management, a large proportion of married men in a regiment need nowise be feared to interfere with its efficiency. Every man of proper age, habits, character, and means of support, has as much right to the society, help, and comfort of a good wife, if he can get one, as any lord or protesting lieutenant-colonel. The influence a really good commanding officer always has may safely be trusted as sufficient check for all requisite purposes; but the present system should be knocked on the head at once and for ever. Only let the thing be properly taken in hand as a piece of Army economy, just as clothing or feeding is. Let proper, decent arrangements be made for a fair proportion of married people in barracks. On the permanent local head-quarters plan, in the event of the regiment taking the field, the women would be properly looked after, proper arrangements made for them as regards letters and remittances, schooling for their children, and what not. We will stake our reputation as prophets for ever, that when we give woman her proper place among soldiers, as is accorded to her, at least in theory, among other classes of the community, we shall never want a rising generation of soldiers for our ranks; and that till we do this in our country of Great Britain and Ireland, where ability and character can always command its price in the market of labour, and where anything approaching conscription will not be tolerated—till we do this, with all our extra twopences, medals, ribbons, stars and garters, we shall still



find a want of men, still be at our wits' end to keep full the glorious "thin red line" of our soldiery.\*

The institution of permanent regimental head-quarters would add incalculably to the effect and good results of our efforts for improving our soldiers and their lot by our regimental schools, libraries, workshops, gardens, &c., which cannot do half the good they might on account of their being so frequently hampered and upset by the constant movings about of regiments. It would do much to strengthen the bonds between officers and men—a bond apt sadly to slacken in peace times. It would add enormously to the bond between our Army and our country—a bond we seem to ignore altogether. Imagine the interest with which Canterbury folk, or Aberdeen folk, or Waterford folk, would see *their* regiment come back from its foreign spell of service, the good wholesome feelings awakened on both sides, the honest pride aroused.

Then think of the present state of things. In the great majority of cases a youngster after enlistment is as entirely lost to all knowledge and sight of his friends as if he had then and there been sunk into the sea.

The regiment goes for its term of ten years to India or the Colonies; in due course it comes home; it is shoved off from the landing-pier to some garrison town which most of them have never seen before, and of which all they will ever probably know is the taverns where drink can be best got. How different too the embarking for foreign service; those left behind knowing they would be looked after, would know where the regiment was, and what it was doing; those going knowing that those necessarily left behind would be somewhere about the old place, and would be cared for; instead of the sad cases of poor wives over the regulation—*no tender consideration for over-regulation in their case, as is accorded to the officers in the matter of purchased promotion*—left deserted on the strand of such places as Portsmouth or Chatham. Then again, we hold that without permanent local regimental head-quarters all attempts at a really efficient reserve force will be failures; establish this principle of local organization and all will be comparatively plain sailing. We fear that Mr. Cardwell's plan will be found to "attenuate" regiments into the reserve to such an extent that commanding officers will find they draft a great many more out than they can easily replace; and we think that some provision should have been made against this in the late regulations by a stipulation that when the regiment was under a certain strength every second (say) man entitled to be drafted into the reserve could not claim

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\* It may be proper to mention that this pleading in behalf of soldiers' wives has appeared before in print. But it was in an *Indian Review*; it was nearly twenty years ago; and it was by the present writer, who is glad of an opportunity for reiterating it.

his discharge for that purpose till he had brought an approved recruit in his place. We do not see how Mr. Cardwell can possibly expect to have his reserve forthcoming when wanted. The only way to be sure of them is by frequent musters; but men will find a difficulty about getting employment if liable to be called out, except very rarely indeed, for muster. Adopt the local organization for the Line as well as for the Militia, and the reserve would naturally not only be formed, but could at once be laid hands on. Parents, friends, masters, would all be known; the habitat of every old soldier in the kingdom would be known; arrangements for periodical musters and short drills could be made without difficulty, and with the very least possible inconvenience or expense. We are so certain of the absolute success of the plan, if sensibly set about and fairly tried, that we should be inclined to refuse to listen to objections, and simply give the Napoleonic reply to all questions, "*qu'on exécute mes ordres.*" But we will briefly anticipate what we conceive would be the principal arguments against it: and first the expense. If sensibly set about under the superintendence of officers who wished the plan to succeed, the expense in those places where there are at present barracks which it would be desirable to retain, ought to be comparatively trifling. But we would protest earnestly against starving the plan, and would insist on large and liberal accommodation wherever required; and as an important part of the plan would be, wherever practicable, to affiliate the Militia and always the Reserve with the County Regiment, the county would probably gladly pay part of the expense of building barracks, on condition that provision was made for the temporary accommodation of the militia in the barracks when called out or embodied, instead of the most objectionable but now unavoidable system of billeting. And against the expense we put an immense diminution in the cost of the recruiting service and its staff; a large decrease in expenditure caused by the now frequent moves of regiments; the decrease of desertion, the decrease of sickness and of crime, all sadly fertile items of expense at present, and there would of course be a large sum incoming from the sale of barracks and ground at the quarters given up. Do not fear the expense; fear the expense of attempting to really reorganize our land forces efficiently without the adoption of this local plan; and be sure that the expense of helping people to be good is immeasurably less than the expense of punishing them when bad. We are certain of our grounds, and are confident that whatever outlay at first might be necessary, would be surely and speedily recouped with interest.

Then there is the danger of fraternization. It is best to break up local ties and feelings. It is best to have English regiments in Ireland, Irish regiments in Scotland, and so on. We think

that this argument, however allowable it may be to a continental officer, is not allowable to a British officer; we think that it simply proves him, if he uses it, to be unfitted for command; he cannot rely on himself and his power over his men without external aid and influences. We are, moreover, "radicals" enough to think that a Government which can only hold its own, and can only rely on its army so long as its army looks on its neighbours as foreigners, deserves to fall; and that it will fall, however much it may dodge its regiments about. But putting aside this view, admitting the argument as a plausible, perhaps a practical one, if not a pleasant one; we say, so be it then. Quarter Irish regiments in Scotland, and *vice versa*, as you will; let them send from Scotland to Ireland for their recruits, and from Ireland to England for recruits for the English regiments quartered in Ireland; but still keep to the principle of a permanent regimental head-quarters, an established regimental home. A quasi-colony would form around it; the principle would still be found to succeed, even under these conditions.

Then it may be said that this localizing of regiments will give you regiments of married molly-coddles, who will be blubbing whenever the order comes for marching, or for foreign service; and who will accumulate such a lot of *impedimenta* of all sorts it will be ruin for them to move at all. There cannot be a greater mistake. Nothing so adds to the *mobility* of a corps as the having a reliable place where on ever so short or sudden a notice the *impedimenta* of whatever kind can be left in comfort and safety without doubt or difficulty. The Prussian Landwehr do not seem to be much in the molly-coddle line; but the rapidity and perfection of their "mobilization" hinges entirely on the principle of localization; every man knows his place of gathering as well as he knows his market town. Moreover, the finest corps in our Army, the Artillery, the Sappers, the Marines, and the Guards, are all localized, so to speak, to all intents and purposes; *they* are not molly-coddles either, nor have they ever failed in their duty when obliged to turn out under arms against misguided neighbours and fellow citizens, as the Guards have often had to do. But depend on it a good commanding officer, a *man* fitted for command, will not talk thus; he will not be afraid of his men becoming rebels or molly-coddles, he knows himself and they know him too well for that.

No. Let the thing be tried. There are 11 so-called Irish regiments; 14 Scotch; 3 Welsh; 1 Canadian; and nearly all the remainder bear the title of some English county. A skeleton map, showing all the places where barracks are at present, would enable arrangements for a local telling off of corps to certain counties, and a proper assignment of military districts to be commenced upon almost at once; and we believe if set about with tact, Government

would find all help and support accorded to them, and no unnecessary difficulties thrown in the way. We would have the regiment and its barracks, instead of being considered a curse to the neighbourhood, the *bête noir* of the parson, the dread of every respectable family near it; we would have it, and should have it, the pride of the county. It should enlist in succession the majority of the finest lads in its district; it should drill the Militia and Volunteers; it should help harvesting (as the Duke of Cambridge issued an excellent general order about once, some years back); it should know every inch of the county, its roads, and all its strategic points; it should provide on the expiration of their Army time good servants and artificers; it should provide good husbands; it should march off gaily on a few hours' notice whenever or wherever required for weeks or for years, for Aldershot or India, prayed for while away; and it should come back, please God, to be welcomed, and with thanksgivings. Is this Utopian and impracticable? We are not inclined to be Utopian, and we know well what we are talking about. It will be allowed too that the late Sir Charles Napier was not much of an Utopian, and that *he* knew what he was talking about; it is probable there never lived a man so thoroughly conversant with the ins and outs of British soldiering and its ways; and we have the satisfaction of knowing that he was an earnest advocate\* for the plan of permanent local head-quarters for regiments. We trust Mr. Cardwell will at once take this subject into prominent consideration as soon as his Bill has been passed; the very slight notice of it in the Bill greatly disappointed us.

The protracted struggle in favour of the Purchase System, which, though "doomed," seems by no means yet killed off, induces us to revert to this topic again for a while, as it seems to us that the advocates for the abolition of purchase somewhat need encouragement and support; and moreover, that they consider the arguments in favour of purchase of far greater weight than they are entitled to. There seems, for instance, to be a sort of tacit taking for granted that on the abolition of purchase retirements from the Army will be indefinitely prolonged, and promotion will be consequently hopelessly retarded; and we are told to look at and be warned by the deadlock of promotion in the Artillery. It is strangely overlooked that rapidity of promotion does not depend on the price paid for it, but on the number of officers who are willing to accept such price to retire, or who wish to retire without it; and this number does not depend on the Purchase System, but is the natural and necessary consequence of our existing social system, under which there is a constant efflux of officers who have served

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\* See his chapter on County and City Regiments. Napier, "On Military Law." Boone, 1837.



for the few years' pastime they wanted to while away, and thus cause a constant stream of promotion in their room. Were the Purchase System introduced into the Artillery to-morrow, it would do very little, if anything at all, to expedite promotion; for the simple reason that officers cannot enter the Artillery without hard study, which will not be undergone by young men who are not thoroughly in earnest about the Army being their profession, or who do not intend to stay in it. In like manner the Purchase System would do nothing for promotion in the Navy, which is far too serious a business to enter upon as a pastime to fill up the few years' interval before a young man comes into his property, or finds something else to do. When the International Society has established an English "Commune," our cadets will have other destinies in store for them; but so long as our existing social system lasts, the Army will naturally attract a large number of our high-spirited but not studiously inclined young men until they come in for their estates, and so long will there be a constant stream of such young men retiring from our Army, and a constant stream of promotion for the officers who stay, so far as the junior ranks are concerned.

For the higher ranks, so far as the efficiency of commanders is concerned, the Purchase System simply does nothing at all. Though this point—viz., that the quick promotion insured by the Purchase System insures a supply of young and efficient commanders, instead of old and inefficient officers who hang on under the Non-purchase System, seems also tacitly conceded, there cannot be a greater mistake; the assumption is entirely false. It was worked out just three years ago, and nothing particular has occurred to alter the conditions since, that the average age of our Lieutenant-Colonels commanding the twenty-five cavalry purchase regiments was 41 years; that that of Lieutenant-Colonels commanding the 105 infantry purchase regiments was 45 years; that that of Colonels of regiments, the officers from whom we should be supposed to select our commanders of divisions, was 70 years; and that the average age of our Field Marshals, or commanders of armies, was 84 years. These averages were not exceeded under the absolute seniority system of the East India Company's service; and indeed there is a striking confirmation of this view of the question now patent in the agitation going on against the *supercession* of our colonels under the Purchase System by colonels of the old Indian army under the seniority system.

Moreover, it appears to be conceded that all and every system of purchase is equally and alike bad; but as it is quite impossible absolutely to prevent all passing of money for promotion, we were grieved to find Mr. Cardwell hampering himself and his really courageous and great undertaking with all sorts of



supposed safeguards against the possibility of money transactions by promising strict secrecy as to the officers to be promoted, penalties in case of money being discovered to have passed, and so forth. We are willing to admit that so far from all and every system of purchase being alike objectionable, there may be a perfectly unobjectionable way of letting money have a perfectly unobjectionable influence, and of this influence being beneficial to individuals and to the State. There need be no objection, and there may be much advantage, in a system under which Captain A. is induced or enabled to retire sooner than he otherwise would or could by the officers below him giving him a purse to go at once. But there is a very terrible objection to the Purchase System under which, when Captain A. retires, Senior Lieutenants B. and C, whatever their claims, services, or qualifications, cannot be promoted unless they pay down the regulation sum of 1100*l.*, *plus* whatever extra sum it may be the custom of the regiment to enforce; and under which the list for promotion is run down until the lieutenant who can pay this large money qualification is selected for the step. It is this system which keeps a man like Havelock a subaltern for 23 years, and prevents him being a captain till he is 48 years old. It was under this system that when at 56 years of age he was enabled by the generosity of an old friend to lodge the regulation sum for promotion to lieutenant-colonel, he found himself conventionally compelled to withdraw his name from the purchase list, and to yield the long-coveted promotion to a junior who had unconditionally promised an over-regulation price.\* Havelock says in his letter telling of this terrible disappointment, that as he had been previously purchased over by three sots and two fools, he ought to consider himself in luck this time at being passed over by a good officer and a gentleman (the present Lord Sandhurst). It was under this system that a man like William Napier,† perhaps the most accomplished officer of his day, of high lineage moreover, thus sadly wrote:—"Peace came, and I am a colonel still. [In 1839; he entered the army in 1800.] I had no money, and younger officers, some of them bad, were ready to purchase over my head. I had gained the brevet rank, but I could not get the regimental rank. The first was to be got in the field, and I got it; the second was to be got by money or favour, and I had neither. And so I went on half-pay. . . . " And so a Napier goes on half-pay; and a Havelock lingers out in India for command till he is 60 years old. This is the system which we are called on to believe in as the only practicable security for sufficiently rapid promotion, the only safeguard for

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\* A. Marshman's "Life of Havelock," p. 209.

† Bruce's "Life of Sir William Napier," vol. i. p. 536.

fairness ! It is a system which has broken many a brave heart ; it has lost the Army the services of many a valuable officer ; it makes promotion from the ranks, in the large majority of cases, merely a cruel mockery ; to the poor man of high spirit it cruelly, to most intents and purposes absolutely, debars promotion, and subjects him to constant (however proudly and carefully kept concealed) humiliations ; to the poor man of somewhat less high spirit, it offers an unwholesome sort of consolation and even allurements by the profit which may at times be made out of it ; and to the rich man, if he has a family, as was most rightly noticed both by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cardwell, it is a system tempting to dangerous speculation, as in case of death every sixpence so spent is absolutely lost. It is a system which has lasted too long, and must not last longer ; and it is alike cruel and foolish for its friends to fight for its prolonged existence as they are now doing. They may depend upon it they will not get anything like such favourable terms hereafter as the present favourable consideration for *over-regulation* prices now offers to them. They will be reminded that one of their stock arguments has always been the absolute fairness insured by the Purchase System ; the officer depositing the regulation sum was sure of his promotion if duly qualified, whatever the social rank or large fortune of his brother-officer candidates. The argument is good or not good. If good, with what possible face can they claim—as a matter of righteous justice—one single sixpence for anything spent over regulation, or rather in defiance of regulation ? If Lord Elcho succeeds in his opposition tactics, he will infallibly also succeed in ruining a large number of his military friends. There can be no doubt about this, we venture to assure him ; and we do so on behalf of a very large body of military friends of our own.

We do not underrate the difficulty of selection for promotion ; but for the amount of selection requisite to modify a seniority system, and of selection for command, for which some sort of selection is absolutely essential, we maintain the difficulty to be by no means insuperable, and only requiring to be faced, as it ought to be beyond all question. We believe that in the Prussian army the promotions above the rank of major are all given absolutely by selection, not regimentally. But we would not break up regimental association unless necessary for the good of the service, though to that extent exceptionally it ought to be done without hesitation. And to keep this right open and clearly understood, we would always have the command gazetted as an appointment separately from the promotion ; and there should be no difficulty about transfers from regiments for this purpose when necessary. Surely it requires no superhuman sense of duty and moral courage to tell an officer, when it is

manifestly requisite to do so, that he cannot be recommended for promotion or for command? It is nonsense to suppose it impossible to expect this sort of thing. Commanding officers often find means of giving a hint of this sort for supposed disqualifications of far less moment than what we have in view; and a commanding officer who declares himself unable to form and give a judgment of this sort, is simply unqualified to hold his post. Mr. Bernal Osborne having been guilty of the folly of holding up Colonel Pride and Cromwell as the probable result of our having a body of professional soldiers, and selected officers, without purchase, hardly deserves any notice of his part in the debates; but we wish to notice, what seems to be accepted very generally as conclusive, his very hackneyed statement of the physical qualifications requisite for an officer which no competitive examination can test. Now we are not particularly in love with competitive examinations, nor are we advocating an extension of the principle. But as regards testing physical qualifications, "a quick eye, a good seat on horseback across country," and so on, these *can be* tested by competitive examination far more easily and more surely than intellectual or mental qualifications. We do not say it is necessary, or even advisable, but what is there impossible or even difficult in setting a batch of young men to ride a course across country, to judge of distances or objects at a distance with the naked eye, and so on? It is well known that many of the commanders of our Indian Irregular Cavalry regiments never admit a recruit, or promote a trooper, without a very thorough testing after this physical fashion. So far from its being a *reductio ad absurdum* argument against competitive examinations that "a quick eye, a good seat across country," &c., cannot be tested by them, it is precisely these physical qualifications which *can* be most easily and fairly tested.

A writer to the *Times* in favour of the Purchase System lately pointed to the fact of the age and long-standing of the captains of the non-purchase regiments, and asked twittingly if we wished to have all our captains of from twelve to twenty-four years' service? We answer, first, certainly not. And it is the conviction that no such consequences will ensue, for the reasons we have previously stated, it being our existing social system, not the Purchase System which has quickened promotion, and that only in the junior ranks, that makes us have no hesitation in denouncing the Purchase System. Secondly, we answer that it is quite possible for promotion to be too fast as well as too slow. So long as the necessary amount of experience is insured, the speedier the promotion the better; but the speedy promotion of very young officers who cannot possibly have had any experience at all, brings forward inefficient commanders, causes at times ter-

rible injury to the public service, and terrible heart-burnings to experienced and every way efficient officers cruelly passed by. As long as officers are not *too* old, the older they are *the better for their men*, say we. The inspector of military prisons lately presented a report in which was noted a sort of summary catalogue of various reasons stated for desertion, and there is a frequent occurrence of such entries as: "Troubled at being obliged to leave the young woman;" "Could find no way of pleasing the sergeant-major;" "Could not stand being told I had broke my promise." Now surely it is but fair and reasonable to suppose that *some* of these cases of desertion might not have occurred had the officers commanding the culprits' companies been able to play the part of counsellor and friend as well as of captain to those placed under them? But how can a soldier in trouble be expected to go to a captain of twenty years of age and make confessions about a young woman? How can a captain of that age be supposed likely properly to overlook the doings of his non-commissioned officers, without whose prompting he would be hardly able to answer a question concerning his company, or to keep his place on parade?

And here we should like to digress for a moment upon our very lax definition of a "good officer." We know our officers generally as a body to be such a nice gentlemanly set of fellows, travelled, tolerably educated, well dressed, smart on parade; we have such pleasant recollections of evenings with them at mess; we know how gallantly they have ever led their men in danger; we positively refuse to admit the possibility of their being not only good officers, but the best officers in the world. The boasted Prussian creature who is never out of his uniform, who knows nothing of the town, who has never ridden to hounds, who cannot even probably play cricket, may be all very well in his way, but he is not to be compared to our fox-hunters and cricketers, to whom the great Duke of Wellington owed his victories,\* and all the rest of it. But we fear this conventional idea of the sort of man really required to make a good officer has done incalculable harm to our Army. It is disagreeable to cite an example, but it is necessary to produce an illustration when advocating a principle, and we will not shrink from doing so. We will name then the late Lord Cardigan. To say that the late Lord Cardigan was not a good cavalry officer would appear to many of us, and to many whose opinions are, from the positions they hold, naturally looked upon as high authorities on the subject, a statement as absurd as untrue. Lord Cardigan *not* a good cavalry officer? why he was allowed to be the smartest officer in the service! And yet

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\* Have the gentlemen who are always harping on this string ever read the great Duke's despatches, we wonder? We imagine *not*.



nothing can be more certain than that he was not only not a good officer, but an utterly incapable one. He was a first-rate rider, a first-rate dresser, and for ordinary drill parades might be called a good parade officer. But despite the enormous social advantages of his rank and his large fortune, which, be it said, he lavishly made use of for what he considered the good of his regiment, he never commanded a regiment happily or efficiently. He had to be removed from the command of the 15th Hussars; his command of the 11th was notorious for a succession of scandals. In the Crimea he proved himself utterly ignorant of all the essential points of a cavalry commander's duties. In the reconnaissance he was charged with to Shumla, though he had no severe marches, he brought back his party almost entirely inefficient from the way the horses were sore-backed. Had he reconnoitred properly before the battle of Alma, he would have been able to give Lord Raglan information which might have spared much loss on our advance; had he reconnoitred properly afterwards, he would have been able to secure guns which the Russians had abandoned, but which they came back to look after subsequently, and took away with much glee. He showed himself utterly wanting in resource in keeping his horses in condition at Balaclava; and in the famous charge which our officers—whether wisely or not may be questioned—commemorate by an annual dinner, he simply did what the six hundred at his back did, rode straight on as far as he thought he well could, and then without a further thought straight back again; in fact so very straight back, that Lord George Paget, who had to some extent succeeded in keeping the men in hand on their way back, on meeting Lord Cardigan at the place they had started from, innocently greeted him with, "*Hallo, my lord, were not you with us?*" We must insist, therefore, that men like Lord Cardigan, however fine fellows they may be, are in a military point of view, and the view in which a State should look at the qualifications of its servants, essentially not good but essentially bad officers; and officers who afford no justification whatever of the system under which they flourish, and under which they rise to command. And we must maintain that if the abolition of the Purchase System prevents *such* men from entering or staying in the Army, the Army will be none the worse for the loss.

We would fain be practical, and we would fain not frighten away friends by an apparent disregard of expense; we are well aware of the enormous expense of our Army at present; and we are satisfied its efficiency could be enormously increased without increase of expenditure; but we are not satisfied as to the particular items selected for reducing expenditure. We were sorry to see Mr. Mundella, in his otherwise very able speech, especially



grudge all money spent on fortifications and the allowance for Volunteers. That some great and extravagant mistakes have been made about the fortifications at Portsmouth we cannot deny; in some instances bad selection of site; in some instances unnecessarily complicated trace and construction. But we believe fortifications sufficient for security against surprise at our principal arsenals to be absolutely essential for our national safety and independence; and we believe we shall not be free from the recurrence of panics until we have something like a system of detached fortified lines round London, and a second Woolwich arsenal in a safe and central position, secure from the possibility of sudden surprise or capture. The entire cost has been calculated on tolerably sufficient data at about eight millions—the cost of the Abyssinian war, which has been already paid off without the slightest difficulty or hardship; and this cost might probably be considerably reduced by a judicious application of convict labour, as lately suggested by the Inspector of Prisons. We believe it would be money well spent; it would be not a dear subscription towards insurance; it would make really formidable and sufficient our necessarily small Army and Reserves, which without such aid we are not likely to have in sufficient numbers to be safe or sufficient, much less formidable, against the large armies now organized on the Continent. Lord Palmerston's policy may safely be relied on in this particular. No man was less of a panic-monger than he, no man less given to under-estimate the power and prowess of England; and no man better knew how essentially different an English army must always be from a Continental one. We cannot avoid here noticing an extraordinary utterance by the Dean of Westminster when preaching in behalf of the fund for the aid of the poor famished people of Paris, that we should be thankful no such distress *could* happen to us, *we* had no fortifications behind which we could stand to suffer such miseries and famine as the poor Parisians within *their* walls. Has it really come to this! Is old England really to thank God that she has no walls behind which she could hold out awhile, even at the risk of some misery and famine? To be thankful that she is such a very small dog that she need not fear being hurt by the big dog, as she can only lie down flat at his approach? We are sure these are not the real sentiments of a Stanley, but we are sure that his language was fairly subject to this construction, and we were alike grieved and amazed at it. "*The Battle of Dorking*" may indeed be deemed fought with a vengeance if this is the turn our thanksgivings are to take. We think, too, that the sums allotted to the Militia and Volunteers, if these bodies are only properly organized as they could and should be, a fair and profitable expenditure. The

value of the Volunteer movement has been enormous. It has done more than anything else to popularize the Army, and so rendered possible, if not easy, the task of Army organization on an efficient footing; it has immensely aided in the development of our musketry instruction; and it has almost wiped out the old jealousy and fear of our people being armed. We think also that its value for actual fighting purposes has been underrated, and that the Volunteers themselves, so far from valuing themselves at an absurdly high rate, have allowed themselves too easily to be daunted by remarks on their occasional lapses of discipline, or comparisons as to "marching past," and what not. We do not underrate the value of drill; *we know it to be essential*; but why attach such extreme importance to *this part* of the drill? why sneer at men whose time is money because they do not "march past" as grandly as a Line regiment, whose time is spent mostly in practising this wonderful manœuvre? A body totally undrilled is simply a mob, you cannot make use of them; but our Volunteers are not this by any means. They mostly know how to deploy into line from column, quickly and well; how to diminish or increase their front; to change their front; to advance and to retire; to skirmish; and for the most part they are good shots. And if they can do this, and so much should be insisted upon, why waste time and temper over "marching past?" The utter failure of Chanzy's men before the Prussians ought to make us think sensibly and seriously but not despondingly or sneeringly of "irregulars." They seem to have been utterly deficient in drill, in discipline, in food, clothing, armament, faith in themselves, or in their commanders. The whole army, the whole manhood of France we may almost say, was demoralized by the utterly faulty and false system which grew up under the shade of semi-pagan idolatry for the name of Napoleon. The worship of Napoleon and of the goddess La Gloire, however dangerous to their neighbours and unwholesome to themselves, did not emasculate them as soldiers, at any rate so long as this idolatry was associated with *bonâ fide* hard study, hard work, and hard fighting; but when merely military swagger and a life of thoughtless dissipation in Paris came to be the chief requirements the goddess demanded from her votaries, the worshippers came to grief as soon as the idol really wanted them to fight for it. Let us be warned; let us also take courage. It is to be hoped *that* idol is shattered now. We were sorry and surprised to see Sir Hope Grant's letter, deliberately reporting his opinion that our Volunteer Reviews "do more harm than good." How can this be? How are they ever to learn anything of manœuvring in masses if they are never massed? It seems to us altogether petulant and unworthy for one of our generals to

throw up his hands in despair after this fashion. The mere practice in organization for the means of railway transport, and for feeding the several corps even for one day, is of incalculable value, even if no other benefit were derivable ; but it is hardly creditable to our generals to allow of this last assumption ; and we would hint that they may themselves derive useful lessons from these occasions, even if they are unable to impart any.

On the other hand, we do think expenditure in some other directions might most certainly be reduced, and more profitably applied. The percentage to Army agents for paying the officers is a preposterous outlay. When a regiment goes to India the regimental paymaster has, as a matter of course, to pay the officers, and there is no reason whatever why he should not always do so ; the one channel would moreover much simplify War Office accounts with each corps. Then again it is inconceivable that the enormous expenditure in our office establishments in London could not be easily and safely reduced. In this year's estimates the Horse Guards establishment is put down at 49,311*l.* This is altogether exclusive of the War Office, which costs 48,347*l.*, exclusive too of the department of the Surveyor-General of Ordnance, which costs 33,500*l.*, and of the Financial Secretary's department, which costs 60,813*l.* more. Cannot the War Office in Pall Mall do with less than forty-two messengers ? Then too why should the Military Secretary have five times as much as the War Minister's Secretary ? Why too should the colonels of the Guards have double the allowances of the colonels of other regiments—2000*l.* instead of 1000*l.* per annum ? As the colonelcies of regiments are among the very few prizes of the service, we altogether protest against the denunciation of them as sinecures ; they are the reward of long and, for the most part, of good previous service ; but we think the 2000*l.* for Guardsmen reasonably open to cavil ; and we think that a reduction all round to 800*l.*, as the colonel's allowance for Guards, Cavalry, and Infantry alike, would be a fair and a reasonable reduction of this item of expenditure. There can be no doubt that a considerable reduction should be made gradually in the present enormous establishment of general officers ; and we are of opinion that some reduction could be made in the establishment of officers per regiment without any reduction of efficiency. We believe work would be better done for being done more directly, and less by deputy ; the ladder of promotion would be shortened ; the juniors would have more chance of learning the habits and duties of responsible command, and thus be better prepared for succeeding to it ; responsible duties sooner and oftener occurring would much lessen the listlessness of subaltern regimental work.

We would gladly, liberally, allow for all *fair* allowance of leave, and still insist on there being always at least one competent officer present with each company; but the present liberality as regards leave\* is preposterous, altogether unreasonable; many officers spend more time away from their regiments than with them. We would too insist that all specific allowances for command, or for office work, irrespective of pay, should invariably be drawn by the officer actually performing the work in question. It is most unfair on officers who do not care, or who cannot afford to be frequently on leave, to be doing the work and bearing the responsibility of others, without any alteration whatever in their respective allotments of pay.

We believe it to be useless yet awhile to expect that any measures of Army reform will be accompanied by an increase of pay to our regimental officers; but it is quite certain that under existing circumstances numbers of excellent officers positively cannot afford to live with their regiments on home service; they must either get out to India, or get shelved to that standing abuse the half-pay list. Increase of pay being out of the question, expenses should be diminished. We think it a matter of mere and obvious justice that the State should bear the expense of regimental Bands, as of every other manifestly necessary part of military interior economy; and the establishment of permanent head-quarters for regiments would very much diminish the officers' expenses, which are now so needlessly and extravagantly enhanced by the perpetual changes of quarters. But we believe it will also be necessary to abolish, or at least very much modify, the existing system of regimental messes. We confess to having very reluctantly come to this conclusion, but we believe it to be inevitable. The mess must be simply a club, or place where an officer may dine as cheaply as he chooses, according to what he orders; or where he is not bound to dine at all, if he chooses to go without a dinner, or if he can get his dinner cheaper elsewhere. Under the existing system of the mess, pleasant as are its memories and traditions, self-denial is practically impossible; at least to the extent required for many a worthy man to live, or nearly live, on his pay. It is a fact that our wealthy and aristocratic officers in the Guards can, and we believe some do, live at a cheaper rate than the officers of many of our line regiments, simply because they have not the obligatory expenditure of a regimental mess.

We have now said as much as we can well ask to be allowed to say at a hearing on this subject; but we hope and ask for a

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\* As regards *officer*; as regards the non-commissioned officers and men it is quite the other way.



patient and a candid hearing. We believe Army Reform to be one of the reforms absolutely required for the safety and assured independence of our country, and that it is a reform for which the country is prepared to pay all *reasonable* price; and after the abolition of the detestable Purchase System, the first step to be taken to enlist the country in the cause is to assign to each regiment a permanent head-quarters or depôt, and to establish a proper division and organization of the United Kingdom into military districts. That there are many and serious difficulties in the way we well know and feel; there are social prejudices, financial arrangements, vested interests, want of sympathy if not absolute opposition from many who could best if they would lead the way; opposition too from many habitual reformers on other questions, because on this question they are disposed to accept from what is supposed to be the military element in the House of Commons the data, most erroneous data for the most part, on which to form their judgment; and because this question affects in a social point of view the interests of the moneyed class far more than the merely aristocratic class. We believe it to be the duty of those who have any right from experience or study of Army matters to do what in them lies towards suggesting a solution of these difficulties, and believing ourselves to have in some measure such a right, we have thought it not unbecoming to avail ourselves of it; feebly, inadequately, incompletely though it be. We were most glad to see that Mr. Cardwell acknowledged valuable aid given him by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, and by Lord Sandhurst, and others of our leading Military authorities on this occasion. This is a hopeful circumstance. We apprehend it has not always been the case. We cannot help thinking that much of our botching at Army Reform must be accounted for by a want of head or of goodwill in high quarters forthcoming to give the Minister the aid he required; he has consequently been thrown back for the only aid he could command on the clerks in the War Office, whose notions would probably be guided a good deal by the simple rule of thumb. "You want a reduction of two millions in the estimates; disband a Canadian Regiment, and twenty thousand men, there are your two millions at once." Our Commander-in-Chief, however, has now proclaimed himself as an eager and earnest Army Reformer. May it so be; and if it be so, we have a right to expect the inauguration of something like a sound and efficient system for the better regulation of the regular and auxiliary land forces of the Crown.



## ART. VII.—EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE.

*Early English Text Society. Seventh Report of the Committee, February, 1871.*

A THOUSAND years ago complaint was made that learning was diminishing in England. Before that time wise men were plentiful throughout the country; kings and ministers prospered in peace and in war: the sacred orders were zealous in learning and teaching, and foreigners came hither in search of instruction. But times changed. When Alfred drew this picture of what England had been, the decay had become so general that few on this side of the Humber could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from the Latin into their mother-tongue; and there were not many beyond the Humber who were equal to the task. So few were they that the King could not remember one south of the Thames when he ascended the throne.\*

No doubt the disturbed condition of the country was answerable in a great measure for this state of things. The Church had not yet descended so low as it afterwards did, and State cares, not luxury and sloth, must be charged with the decay of learning. Under the fostering care of Alfred, and urged forward by his example, learning as well as other virtues revived, and since his days English literature has shone on with a steadily increasing light. This side of the Humber, beyond the Humber, south of the Thames, in the east and west, we find evidences of a widespread desire to lay before the "lewd" as well as the learned the works of old-world worthies, sacred and profane; as well as those wonderful legends of saints and heroes, which enthralled the minds of men then with an interest far more intense than they do now. Nor was the Bible forgotten. It was no sealed book, except in so far as to the majority of men all books were sealed at a time when books were the rarest of treasures, and readers all but unknown. "Painful" and industrious Churchmen were willing to spend their lives in writing, translating, or copying books. And when we look at their handwriting, and observe the minute care with which they formed every letter, and the pains they bestowed on their work, and then consider the time required to complete the transcript of one book of the Bible, of one story or

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\* King Alfred's "West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care." Edited by Henry Sweet, Esq., E.E.T.S. 1871.

legend, of one life of a saint, we shall find that there is better reason to bless them for having done so much than there is to complain that they did so little. Nameless, except to the brothers of their religious house, unknown in their own days as they are in ours, they call upon us by their works to erect a monument to their memory. In our own irregular way we are doing this. Every manuscript which is brought to light and deciphered and given to the world by our printing societies, by private enterprise, or by Government aid, is a tribute to the men who worked not for fame, who had no eye to rewards, who laboured only "for love of simple men." In these men religion was a reality. They had few misgivings to trouble them. Unvexed by the discoveries of science, ignorant of the theories which make us hesitate in our faith, the Bible was to them the Book, the Church was the witness and keeper of the Truth contained in it, and they lived a faith which taught them that the end of every religious was to do all that in him lay to improve his fellow-men.

But who are the men fitted to place this old-world literature before our generation? On the principle that "he who drives fat oxen must himself be fat;" on the principle that the man whose faith tallies not exactly with my faith is incapable of using his scholarship to produce a better translation of our Bible, some will tell us that no man who is not a member of the (Roman) Catholic Church is competent to edit these writings produced generations before England finally threw off the yoke of Rome. Scholarship, honesty, ability, a profound acquaintance with the changes which our language, no less than our manners, has undergone, all go for nothing—the man possessing these, but disputing the dogmas of the Pope, is not to be trusted—he cannot edit an English Text! Well, perhaps it serves us right. Did we not a few years back persecute a gentleman—it was said to the death—because, on account of his scholarship, a high official had elected him to edit some State documents belonging to a period when (so-called) religious feelings ran high? The same narrowness of soul dwells within us all, and circumstances only are required to develope this narrowness into a persecution on the one hand, or the foundation of rival societies on the other.

This latter course ought to be a gain. The more societies are formed for printing and reprinting our early literature, the sooner will our work be done. It is only required that each society should work with perfect honesty; that Texts should not be tampered with to suit any bias, religious or political; that editors should be so far competent for the work they undertake that readers may have confidence in them. If they work in a friendly rivalry so much the better; but let them avoid going over the same ground.

Our printing societies are, we consider, an honour to our country. We have been blamed because we have not done more. We have been blamed because Chaucer has been allowed to lie so long in comparative neglect. We have been blamed because the Chaucer Texts issued were not edited with that care and accuracy which the times demand. For all these faults and shortcomings we are willing to suffer. Those who make them have had to endure peculiar hardships. Dwelling away from our great libraries, or in distant countries, they have been unable to avail themselves of our manuscript stores; they have been unable to make even an attempt to clear away the difficulties which beset the text of the poet, because they could not depend upon the readings given by his editors. Scholars who felt themselves thus hampered, did well to be angry, and were wise in endeavouring to stir us up to a better appreciation, not only of our responsibilities as the custodians of this literature, but also of its value. Not that we were altogether ignorant or careless of these things. Nearly sixty years ago the Roxburghe Club was instituted, its first issue, "Certain Bokes of Virgiles Aenaeis, turned into English Meter," bearing the date of 1814. This club, originated on an expensive plan, and issuing its volumes to a very limited number of persons, still continues to produce those quartos which we all admire so much when we see them enriching and adorning the great libraries of the country. The Bannatyne Club, founded at Edinburgh in 1823, the Maitland Club at Glasgow 1828, the Surtees Society at Durham in 1834, the Camden Society in London in 1838, the Spalding Club at Aberdeen in the following year, the Percy Society and the Shakespeare Society in 1840, the Chetham Society at Manchester in 1843, have done, and several of them are now doing good work. Some, having finished the work originally placed before them, or from other causes, have ceased to exist; but they have bequeathed to us an invaluable legacy. The others still run their course as vigorously and successfully as at first, year by year issuing volumes containing the treasures of our national and private libraries.

These old societies, founded many of them before we were born, have been supplemented during the last decade by many more. Recognising the changed times, and the more widespread desire for early literature, a few able men set to work to devise some means for gratifying this desire, and at the same time for removing the grounds of reproach hinted at above. Mr. Payne Collier's various "coloured" series, J. Russel Smith's "**Library of Old Authors**," Mr. Arber's "**Reprints**," unpretending in appearance, but marvels of cheapness, and of great value; the Chaucer Society's publications, the Spenser Society's almost too luxurious volumes, the Ballad Society's work; these

all cluster round the Early English Text Society, which was founded in 1864, "with the object of publishing a series of Early English Texts, especially those relating to King Arthur." This object has not been strictly adhered to, it having been found impracticable; and now its issues are classed as—

- I. Arthur and other Romances.
- II. Works illustrating our Dialects and the History of our Language, including a Series of re-editions of our Early Dictionaries.
- III. Biblical Translations and Religious Treatises.
- IV. Miscellaneous.

A programme like this ought to satisfy the most fastidious.

Yet it has been urged, we observe, that the volumes partake too much of a religious character. It is difficult to conceive how it could be otherwise when we call to mind to what class our early writers almost invariably belonged. If the Church in those "dark days" possessed the power, there is no denying that it possessed the learning too; and this will account for the prevalence of religious literature over that of a more general or secular kind. We propose to examine briefly some portion of this literature.

A convenient division of the fifteen centuries of our Christian era is that which classes them in three fives. The first, the Imperial age, in which the Roman Empire extended over the East and the West. It was the age of the greatest achievements of the Christian religion, the age of Apostles, Fathers, and Martyrs. From the opening of the sixth to the close of the tenth century is the Barbarian or Pre-mediæval age. The Empire of Rome had ceased to extend its authority over Northern and Western Europe, and the tribes of barbarians, held in awe by the soldiers of the Empire, were engaged in perpetual conflicts one with another, causing unknown misery, but laying the foundations, and "cementing them with blood and iron," of a better state of society, the influences of which are felt even at this day. This period of Barbarianism, occupied in the elemental wars which consolidated the Neo-Latin, the Teutonic, and Celtic nationalities, was succeeded by the Mediæval Period, embracing the five hundred years from the eleventh to the fifteenth century inclusive. As the second period had been employed by the barbarian tribes in working out the nationalities named above, so this period exercised its energies in wars between these three, who, in their turn, worked out a higher unity, and caused the idea of Europe as distinct from Asia to stand before men.\*

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\* "Arthurian Localities," p. xix. By J. S. Stuart Glennie, E.E.T.S. 1869.

The age which gave birth to the greatest Romances we possess was probably that part of the Mediæval Period which was comprised in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Then the Catholic organization of society attained its highest perfection ; the Crusades afforded the brightest examples of heroism and magnanimity. Art, greatly influenced by Orientalism, achieved its greatest triumphs, triumphs which are now the glory of Europe, notwithstanding all the advances we have since made ; and literature made a corresponding advance.\*

The Mediæval age gave birth, as we have already said, to our greatest Romances, of which we shall have to say somewhat more : it also produced its Chaucer, its Gower, its Wickliffe, and, though mentioned last, not the least, its Langland, whose *Vision* must ever stand as one of the marvels of a marvellous age. "With the sixteenth century begins our present Modern or Transition Age ; a period marked, not as was the Mediæval Age, by the general acceptance of an established system of thought and of government ; but a period distinguished by the manifestly progressing destruction of all the political forms and intellectual foundations of the social system of the age preceding it, and a no less certain, though perhaps less manifest, preparation of a new and higher system of social organization."†

The renowned Arthur, whose exploits have occupied the minds of men for eight hundred years, and whose history we must here consider, could hardly have been the idle creation of some poet's brain. He and his mysterious Merlin must have had some foundation in historic truth, or their characters and histories would scarcely have so impressed and influenced men's minds as they have done. We see age after age turning with renewed attention to the subject. Arthur, "but a leader of barbarians," Merlin, "but a barbarian compound of madman and poet, of prophet and bard," serve to bring home to our minds the great idea of "the continuity of human development ;" they serve to show "the traditions of the barbarian conflicts of one age taken up by the next, and used as the formal material of the creations of a magnificent poesy ;" they show "the rude lives of an earlier period living again in the ideal heroes of succeeding ages ;" they show that, "though the tribes of whom these traditions are the historic memorials were conquered, absorbed, and extinguished as separate political organizations, yet they died not ;" they show that, "in the succession of Humanital, as in the sequence of

\* "Arthurian Localities," p. xviii. By J. S. Stuart Glennie, E.E.T.S. 1869.

† J. S. S. Glennie, p. xix.



natural phenomena, there is, in fact, no such thing as Death ; that there is but decease only and Transformation.”\*

To the necromantic skill and wise counsels of Merlin, Arthur owes his birth, his crown, and his victories ;† and to him we must first direct our attention. Though it is most likely that Arthur and Merlin lived in the sixth century, it is not till the eighth that we have any written record of the wonderful boy Merlin, whose generation is ascribed to a spirit. In the “*Historia Britonum*” he is called Ambrosius, the name of Merlin being unknown. But in Layamon’s “*Brut*,” written long after the *Historia* attributed to Nennius, he is introduced by the name of Merlin, under the following strange circumstances. Vortiger, being in great danger of an attack from Hengist, determined to build a strong castle in Wales. His ditch was dug, lime and stone were provided in great abundance, and the wall was begun. To the dismay of the King and his builders, all that was built in the day fell down in the night ; no matter how strong they built, the King lost his labour. Sages and world-wise men were sought after, and when found were commanded to try incantations and so ascertain why the wall could not be made to stand. For three nights they practised their crafts in vain. Then came one Joram and declared that he had found a remedy—a male child, that never had father, must be discovered. When found his breast was to be opened, and the blood flowing from the wound was to be mingled with the lime, and then the walls would stand to the end of the world. Messengers were sent out to search the country for what it seemed hopeless to expect to find. Weary and sad, two of them reached the “burgh” where Caermarthen now is, and sat down to lighten their care with the gambols of children at play. With a charming simplicity we are told that after a time the children began to strive, as it was ever the custom among children at play, and that one smote the other. The lad who suffered became extremely angry, and said, “*Merlin*, wicked man, why hast thou this done to me ? Thou hast done me much shame, therefore thou shalt have grief. I am a king’s son, and thou art born of nought ; thou oughtest not in any spot to have free man’s abode.” Other reproaches followed, the knights listened in astonishment, and finally concluding that Merlin was the child they sought, sent him and his mother to Vortiger.‡

“The Prose Romance,”§ written some three hundred years

\* J. S. S. Glennie, pp. xxi. xxii.

† “*Merlin the Enchanter and Merlin the Bard*.” p. i. By W. D. Nash. E.E.T.S. 1865.

‡ Layamon’s “*Brut*.” ii. pp. 226—228. Edited by Madden.

§ “*Merlin ; or, the Early History of King Arthur*.” Edited by Henry B. Wheatley. E.E.T.S. 1865-9.

[Vol. XCVI. No. CLXXXIX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XL. No. I. M.

later than the "*Brut*" already quoted, opens with a discussion among the fiends in hell respecting our Lord's descent thither, and His return with Adam and Eve, and how they might recover the authority over man which they had lost. The means they adopted to bring about the birth of a child, whose father should not be human, need not be described here. Suffice it to say, the devil's counsels came to nothing, and when Merlin was born, although he had the wit of the fiend who was his father, and knew things past, present, and to come, our Lord took him to his own use on account of the mother's repentance; and instead of being an instrument in the devil's hands to work men mischief, he becomes a preacher and tells of "the loving of Jesus Christ."\* At this point the "*Prose Romance*" begins to treat of King Vortiger and his tower.

The later writer throws in various touches significant of the times. While the Church preserved its purity men were not given to slandering the Priest, but in the fifteenth century the seeds of corruption were springing, and the fruits of a system which condemned men to celibacy were not far off. While the *Brut* is silent respecting the judge who was bent upon destroying Merlin's mother, and was only prevented by having his own paternity exposed by Merlin, the "*Prose Romance*" not only relates all the particulars with the utmost minuteness, but finishes the story by telling how the *parson* drowned himself as soon as the discovery was made. The grim humour with which Merlin amuses his guards while journeying to Vortiger is also worthy of notice, especially as one of the incidents bears upon the morality of the priests. As they were travelling "they passed through a town in which was a market, and when they were passed through they overtook a churl, that had bought a pair of strong shoes, and also strong leather to clout them with. And when Merlin saw the churl he began to laugh. The messengers asked him wherefore he laughed. 'I laugh,' quoth he, 'at this churl that hath bought him so strong shoes, and also clout leather, and I tell you certainly he shall be dead before he fully come to his house.' . . . They had not followed the churl half a mile, that they found him dead, in the middle of the way, and his shoes about his neck." The next story is better still:—"And as they passed through a town, they saw a dead child on a bier, borne to church to be buried. And after the corse was made great dole and weeping. And when Merlin saw the weeping, and saw the priest and the clerks who went singing before, he began to laugh, and said to his fellows 'I see a marvel.' And they asked, 'What?' Quoth Merlin, 'Ye see that good man that maketh

this great sorrow?' And they said, 'Yea.' 'And see ye the priest that singeth all before?' Quoth they, 'We see him well.' 'Forsooth,' quoth Merlin, 'he ought to make the sorrow that the other good man maketh, for know it well that the child is the priest's son; and the other man weepeth, and hath more cause to laugh.'\*

Merlin, when he arrived before Vortiger, had no difficulty in explaining why the castle walls fell down. He commanded the King to dig deeper into the earth and he should find a stone, under the stone water, and, when the water was drained off, two dragons, whose fighting during the night always caused the wall to tumble. At this interview, according to the *Brut*, Merlin foretold among other things the coming of Arthur. "Uther," he said, "shall have a son, who shall come out of Cornwall; he shall be like a wild boar bristled with steel, and shall consume the cities and devour the traitors with authority. He shall kill all thy rich kindred; he shall be most brave and noble in thought; to Rome shall his authority extend, and he shall fell all his foes to the ground."†

It is evident that thus far all is legendary respecting Merlin: his generation by infernal agency; his marvellous childhood; his finding by Vortiger's messengers; his clearing up of the king's difficulty; and his foretelling the king's end, all bear the stamp of romance, and all probably were the accretions of hundreds of years.

Stories like this of Merlin do not lose so much as they gain. The germ of truth is overlaid in its passage from mouth to mouth, from bard to bard. The wonder which we may imagine to have been felt by the listeners to these romances, and the popularity which always greeted the story-teller, would not tend to diminish that desire, natural to the rude and uncultivated mind, to add wonder to wonder and marvel to marvel. Merlin may have been a rude barbarian bard; strange fits of melancholy may have closed his lips for days and weeks; and then stranger flights of fancy may have occupied his soul and urged him to utter words having reference to past events and dimly foreshadowing the changes which were likely to come. All this is easily imagined; and on such a superstructure there could have been little difficulty in erecting, as times went on and manners and ideas changed, the edifice which we are now considering. The troublous times, when the Danes made continual descents on the country, burning and slaying all they could not devour or carry away, yielded incidents in plenty to strike with awe the minds of the superstitious, at a time when the influences of Christianity

\* Merlin, &c., pp. 33, 34.

† Layamon's "Brut," ii. 250.

were feebly felt and possibly unknown in some parts of our island. Carried by the hands of men who had no settled home, or who, living in fear of foreign incursions, were continually on the move, it is no wonder that the West of England, Wales, Scotland, and France have all claimed to be the true Arthurian Land. Each of these can point to spots and localities bearing names commemorative of some Arthurian event—a feast, a battle, or a grave. But we are under no anxiety to have these mists removed, which, while they partly dim the outline of Arthur's knightly form, and make darker the darkness that enshrouds Merlin the prophet-bard, and enhance the virtues of Sir Galahad, the bravery of Sir Lancelot, and the beauty of the Fair Maid of Ascalot, give also to the whole that grand and wonderful indefiniteness which still leaves room, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years, for the full play of the imagination of the poet and painter of our own time. Petty tribes have been welded into mighty empires, and these have fallen, broken by the iron hand of Time, and have become forgotten; but Arthur and his Knights still live on, ever increasing in nobleness of character, ever undergoing that refining process which will never end till they stand before us as perfect models of what we are fond enough to imagine Englishmen to have been in the times of chivalry, and of what we desire Englishmen should still strive to be.

The battle on Salisbury Plain between Uther and Pendragon on the one side, and the Danes on the other, ended disastrously for the invaders, and was fatal to Pendragon, whose name was assumed by Uther as a surname. Pendragon was buried on Salisbury Plain, and those mighty stones—the wonder of every succeeding age—which Merlin “ordained to endure to the world's end,” were brought from Ireland and placed in their positions over Pendragon's grave by the potent arts of the prophet. At this point of the story we gain the first glimpses of the institution of the Round Table, without which the associations of Arthur would be shorn of half their charms. The first Table was that at which the Last Supper was eaten; a second was made by Joseph of Arimathea, on which he placed the Holy Graal. At this table was a void place which betokened the place of Judas, “there as he sat at the supper, which he left when he heard our Lord say ‘that he who ate with Him should betray Him.’”<sup>\*</sup> The third table Merlin advised Utherpendragon to make in the Name of the Trinity, promising him that he should gain great honour and profit by so doing. This was to be set up at “Cardoell, in Wales.” The feasting round this celebrated Table at once led to great events. To the gathering many famous

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<sup>\*</sup> Merlin, p. 59.

men were invited, and many fair ladies; but none were more famous than Gorlois, Duke of Tintagel, none fairer than Ygerne, his wife. With her Utherpendragon fell violently in love, and in the end, after "using curious arts," married her, the Duke having been slain while repelling an attack on one of his castles. The beautiful Ygerne became the mother of Arthur, who, as soon as he was born, was transferred to Merlin, by whom he was brought up.

Of other Arthurian records we may mention first *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*.<sup>\*</sup> This Romance was originally edited by Sir F. Madden for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. The new edition was made from it, care being taken to read all proofs with the manuscript so as to insure correctness. The story contained in this poem opens at Camelot. Arthur and his company are keeping the Festival of Christmas, and are as joyous as they can be, no cares having as yet befallen them. Suddenly a huge knight in green enters the hall, and challenges the bravest to strike him. Amazed by his impudence and the strangeness of his appearance, they eye him with silent astonishment, until his taunts bring them back again to reason. Then Arthur seizes his axe and brandishes it ready for the blow, but yields to Sir Gawayne's entreaty that he might strike for his uncle. The Green Knight inquires the name of Sir Gawayne, who promises to receive a blow from him twelve months hence. This being settled, the stranger adjusts himself, and Gawayne, with one mighty stroke, cuts off his head. To the further astonishment of the beholders, the Knight, bleeding profusely, picked up his head, turned it towards the company, challenged Sir Gawayne to meet him at the Green Chapel on the appointed day, and then, coolly mounting his charger, rode away, carrying his head in his hand!

The remainder of the Poem, which consists of about two thousand five hundred lines, is taken up with the preparations for Gawayne's journey, the adventures which befell him on his way, and his meeting with the Green Knight, abiding his blow (by which he is slightly wounded), and his return to Arthur's Court. The whole story is full of interest, and is told with a considerable amount of spirit, while certain "passages, which throw light on the manners and amusements of our ancestors," add materially to its attractions.

Coming next in date is the "*Lincoln Morte Arthure*."<sup>†</sup> We

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<sup>\*</sup> "*Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight: an Alliterative Romance-Poem.*" (Ab. 1320—30 A.D.) Edited by Dr. Richard Morris. E.E.T.S. 1864.

<sup>†</sup> "*Morte Arthure*." Edited from Robert Thornton's MS. By George G. Perry, M.A., &c. E.E.T.S. 1865. The poem was edited by Mr. Halliwell in 1847. Only seventy-five copies were then issued.



cannot do better than quote the Editor's own words on this remarkable Poem :—

“In almost all early poetry may be noted a simplicity of language united with what may be termed a recklessness of assertion and a contempt of the conditions required for constituting the probable. Effect is sought to be produced not by the subtle analysis of thought and feeling, nor by the description of scenery and natural objects, but by the crowding together of startling incidents, and the ascription of marvellous powers and prowess to the favoured hero. Early poetry is, as it were, the expression of inexperience, of thoughtlessness, and light-heartedness, not bearing the marks of a complicated state of society, where the restless struggle for social superiority absorbs the energies and gives a grave cast to the reflections. Now this gay and light-hearted character seems to be eminently characteristic of *Morte Arthure*. The ease with which ‘fifty thousand folke are felled at ones’ when they stand in the way of the victory of the knights; the jovial vein in which Arthur cleaves asunder the Giant Colapas, bidding him come down and ‘karpe to his feris,’ for that ‘he is too high by half’ to do so comfortably in his giant form; the character of Sir Gawaine, ‘the gude man of arms,’ who is so eminent a favourite with the poet because he was ‘the gladdest of othire,’ ‘And the hendeste in haule undire hevene riche,’ all testify to this.’”\*

The great deeds of Arthur form the opening lines of the Poem. What kind of man he was, or rather what kind of “recklessness of assertion” was in vogue in the fourteenth century, the bare enumeration of his conquests, compressed into about twenty lines of the text, will show. He won back all the realm of Uther, Argyle, Orkney, the Isles, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Flanders. Holland, Hainault, Burgundy, Brabant, Brittany, Guienne, Gothland, and Greece he made tributary. He built Bayonne, Bordeaux, Tours, and Toul; became Prince of Poitiers, Provence, Valence, Vienne, Erugia, Aniana, Naverne, Norway, Normandy, Germany, Austria, and other lands, and conquered Denmark. Having performed these mighty feats he, as we are prepared to learn,

“Then rystede that ryalle and helde the Rounde Tabylle;  
Suggeourns that sesone to solace hyme selvene,”†

and to drive away some of the cares which such a series of conquests must have brought, in hunting the hart among the hills of Glamorgan.

But all the Poem is not in this random or jovial strain. Sorrow befalls the King towards the end; the first overwhelming grief comes at the death of Sir Gawayne, whom he finds lying dead on the battle-field.

\* “*Morte Arthure*,” p. 10.

† *Ibid.*, p. 2.

"Than Gliftis the gud kyng, and glapyns in herte,  
 Gronys fulle grisely with gretande teris;  
 Knelis downe to the cors, and kaught it in armes,  
 Kastys upe his umbrere, and kysses hyme sone!  
 Sokes one his eye-liddis, that lowkkide ware faire,  
 His lippis like to the lede, and his lire falowede!  
 Than the corownde kyng cryes fulle lowde,—  
 'Dere kosyne o kynde, in kare am I levede!  
 For now my wirchipe es wente, and my were endide!  
 Here es the hope of my hele, my happyng of armes!  
 My herte and my hardynes hale one hym lengede!  
 My concelle, my comforte, that kepide myne herte!  
 Of alle knyghtes the kyng that undir Criste lifede!  
 Thou was worthy to be kyng, thofe I the corowne bare!  
 My wele and my wirchipe of alle this werlde riche  
 Was wonnenethourghe syr Gawayne, and thourghe his witte one!' " \*

Nearly the whole of this Poem is occupied with Arthur's feats of war on the Continent, from whence he is recalled by hearing of the villany of his nephew Modred, in the battle with whom Sir Gawayne was slain.

Arthur's own death in Avelon quickly follows; but this, though it tempts us to linger over the description given, we must leave.

Into the questions of authorship and dialect we do not intend to enter at length. Sir F. Madden held this Poem to be the "Gret Gest of Arthure," written in the fourteenth century, by Huchowne, a Scotch writer. This opinion is opposed by Dr. Morris, who maintains the dialect to be not Scotch, "but one of the Northumbrian dialects spoken south of the Tweed." † Now, while we think Dr. Morris may be right in his conclusion, we disagree with some of his reasons for arriving at it. He says, "We miss the Scotch use of *-is* or *-ys*, for *-es* or *-s* in the plural number, and of possessive cases of nouns, and in the person endings of the present tense indicative mood of verbs." ‡ The first two hundred lines of the Poem give no less than twenty-seven instances of this use. Afterwards it becomes less frequent, and the assertion may be said to hold good, as the termination in question only occurs about once on a page for the next one thousand eight hundred lines, where it again becomes very frequent, and the single instance on page 60 is increased to ten on page 101, to twelve on page 105, to fourteen on page 107, and to nineteen on

\* "Morte Arthure," p. 116.

† "Alliterative Poems." Edited by R. Morris, p. vi. E.E.T.S. 1864.  
 "Morte Arthure," p. ix.

‡ Ibid., p. vi., note 2.

page 108.\* That we also miss the Scotch use of *-it* or *-yt*, for *-ed* or *-d*, in the preterites or passive participles of regular verbs† may be accepted as correct on the whole; but a few instances may be pointed out, and probably many more might be found—

“Bayone and Burdeux he *beldytt* fulle faire.”—l. 38,  
where “*beldytt*” is regular.

“The kyng *blyschit* one the beryne.”—l. 116.

“Fesauntez *enflureschitt* in flammande silver.”—l. 198.

Again, Dr. Morris says, “there is a total absence of the well-known Scotch form *thorow* (through);”‡ and it never seems to have occurred to Mr. Perry, the last editor of the Poem, that this assertion was utterly wrong, that the first five lines refute it:—

“And gyffe us grace to gye, and governe us here,  
In this wrechyd werld, *thorowe* vertous lywyngc.”—l. 5.

And twenty lines lower down we read that they—

“Conqueryd that kyngryke *thorowe* craftys of armes.”

The latter half of the Poem absolutely bristles with this form, which has been said to be “totally absent.”

“*Thorowe* scheldys they schotte, and scherede *thorowe* males,  
Bothe schere *thorowe* schoulders a schaftmonde large!”—ll. 2545-6.§

Before we dismiss this Lincoln Morte Arthure, we have a few words to say on the deficiencies of its Glossarial Index. Generally we have found the glossaries of the Early English Texts full and fairly accurate, and we are sorry to have to find fault with the Editor for his many sins of omission. The line (3578)—

“They hafe *semblede* on the see sevend schore *chippis*,”

contains three words which should have found a place in the Glossary, but the reader looks in vain for *semblede*, *schore*, or *chippis*. Looking for the first he will find “*Semble*, *v.* cope with, meet,” and surely “*semblede*, assembled,” might have followed. When the ordinary reader comes to the line (3593)—

“Gers *trome* and *trusse* and *trynes* forth *aftyre*,”

\* *Stand-is*, *ster is*, *brest-ys*, *hytt-ys*, *strykk-ys*, *cast-ys*, *hede-rap-ys*, *chipp-ys*, *mast-ys*, *ovyre-fall-ys*, *frek-is*, *ston-ys*, *bryst-ys*, *gom-ys*, *gadd-ys*, *com-ys*, *hitt-is*, *dynntt-is*, *sper-ys*.

† “Alliterative Poems,” p. vi. note 3.

‡ Ibid., p. vi. note 3.

§ Among other instances of its use we may refer to ll. 2503, 2505, 2569, 2892, 2910, 2911, 2951, 2976, 2982, 3092, 3127, 3842, 3858, 3938, 4117, 4129, 4239, 4248.

he probably will stumble first at *Gers*, and turning to the Glossary will find "Gerse, s. grasp." Of course this is not the word he wants: it is not to be found. But this word *gerse* is doubly wrong. In the text it is *girse*, and it means grass, as in the line—

"Boith *gyrse*, and flour, and euery lusty vicht."\*

"Umbegripped" is unnoticed, and so are hundreds of words which ~~we cannot~~ stay to enumerate: a few lines, taken at random, and having the glossed words in italics, will show the extent to which these omissions have run—

"Bot whene oure wiese kyng wiste that Gawayne was landede,  
 He al to-wrythes for woo, and wryngande his handes,  
 Gers lawnehe his botes appone a lawe watire,  
 Londis *als* a lyone with lordliche knyghtes,  
 Slippes in in the sloppes o-slante to the girdylle,  
 Swalters upe swyftly with his swerde drawene,  
 Bownnys his bataile and baners displayes,  
 Buskes over the brode sandes with breth at his herte,  
*Ferkes frekkly* one felde thare the feye lygges;  
 Of the traytours mene one trappede stedis,  
 Ten thosandez ware *lynte*, the trewghe to acownt,  
 And certane on owre syde seven seore knyghtes  
 In soyte with theire soverayne unsownde are belevede!  
 The kyng eomly over-keste knyghtes and othire,  
 Erles of Awfrike, and estriche *berynes*  
 Of Orgaile and Oreckenay, the Iresche kynges,  
 The nobileste of Norwaye, nowmbirs fulle hugge,  
 Dukes of Danamarke, and dubbid knyghtes;  
 And the *enchede* kyng in the gay armes  
 Lys gronande one the grownnde, and girde thorowe evene!  
 The riche kyng ransakes with rewthe at his herte,  
 And up *rypes* the renkes of all the rownde tabylle;  
 Ses theme alle in a *soppe* in sowte by theme one,  
 With the Sarazenes unsownde enserehede abowte;  
 And syr Gawayne the gude in his gaye armes,  
 Umbegripped the *girse*, and one grouffe fallene,  
 His baners braydene downe, *betyne* of *gowlles*,†  
 His brand and his brade schelde al bloody be-rovene;  
 Was never oure semliche kyng so sorowfulle in herte,  
 Ne that sanke hyme so sade, bot that sighte one."—pp. 115, 116.

Not more than one-third of the words are explained of those which required explanation. *Scho* and *cho*, she;‡ *qwhylles*,

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\* "Lancelot of the Laik," l. 10. Edited by Rev. W. W. Skeat. E.E.T.S. 1805.

† For this word *gowlles*, the reader has to look under *betyne*!

‡ See p. 99.

whiles ; *qwene*, when ; *garte*, caused ; and numberless other forms either requiring explanation or worthy of being indexed for the sake of reference, are unnoticed.

"The Lancelot of the Laik," another of the Arthurian Romances, has also had the good fortune to be twice edited ; first by Stevenson, in 1839, for the Maitland Club, and next, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, in 1865, for the early English Text Society. As might be expected from Mr. Skeat's well-known ability, his edition is all that can be desired for accuracy and completeness. What we have to say will be little more than an abridgment of the Editor's "Description of the Poem," which is but a loose paraphrase of a portion of the French Romance of Lancelot du Lac. The author undertook the work to please his lady-love, and after telling us what he will not relate, he commences his story where Lancelot has been made a prisoner by the lady of Melyhalt, taking as his subject the wars between Arthur and Galiot, and the honour which Lancelot obtained in them. Arthur is introduced to us at Carlisle, by which is probably intended Cardoel in Wales. The King, troubled by dreams, calls his wise men together to inquire their meaning, promising to hang his clerks if they fail in giving him an answer. They inform him that those on whom he relies will fail him at his need. Soon after comes a knight from King Galiot demanding tribute and rent, which Arthur refuses to pay. Then a messenger arrives from the lady of Melyhalt to inform Arthur that Galiot's army is close at hand. Sir Gawain greatly distinguishes himself in the battle which ensues, but Galiot, feeling the weakness of Arthur, considerately grants a truce for a year to enable him to so recruit his forces that he may be a worthy foe.

Lancelot had been present in disguise at the first battle, and after it, in obedience to his promise, had returned to his confinement ; at this second battle he again obtained permission from the lady to take a part in the fray, this time arrayed in black. Again Gawain distinguishes himself ; but at length, and during the first day's battle, he received a severe wound. Lancelot even eclipsed himself in this encounter, "and the last thousand (extant) lines of the poem are almost wholly occupied with a description of his wonderful prowess." He attacks a company of a hundred knights, and slays the first, breaking his spear in the attack ; the stump serves him to unhorse two or three more, and then taking another spear three more knights fall before him. No knight however armed, no horse however strong, can stand before him. After he has had two horses killed under him he carries on the fight on foot, until a squire brings him a fresh horse, when he leaps into the saddle without the aid of the stirrups. Under the queen's eyes he continues to



work wonders, encouraging all who fight with him, till Galiot's men begin to give way. Then Lancelot rushes anew into the midst of the fight; man and horse go down before him; some he pierces to the heart; heads are cleft or separated from their bodies, and others he divides from the crown to the saddle. Galiot, rallying his men, beholds the marvels wrought by the Black Knight, and then, seeing Lancelot is borne to the ground by the multitude of his foes, generously declaring that such a knight shall not die through him, charges his men to cease, and remounts Lancelot on his own horse. Before the fight is renewed our poet's work ceases. Marvels had been performed, greater deeds were to be recounted, but the vigorous translator's work, if ever carried on, has not come down to us.

Mr. Furnivall's "*Le Morte Arthur*"\* differs considerably, like the Lincoln "*Morte Arthur*," from the other Romances referred to. This enters at once into the great blot which sullied the "*Table Round*," and proceeds to deal with all the woes which crushed the noble King. Induced by the Queen to proclaim a tournament at Winchester, Lancelot remained behind sick. Watched by Sir Agravayne, he disguises himself and rides to Winchester. The incidents at Ascalot, the maiden's love for Lancelot, his determination to help the weaker side, his feats, are all repeated. Event follows event in rapid succession, till the closing scene of all. Mordred's double treachery, the guilt of Lancelot and the Queen, Arthur's death and burial, are all told, as well as the end of the beautiful Guinevere, the brave Lancelot, and of the other knights, leaving an impression of sadness that a story which seemed likely to realize such a noble end, should terminate in such overwhelming misery and shame.

Space fails us to go further into this history. We have given but few extracts from these old books to enable our readers to judge of their style, because in style and dialect they vary so much that we know not where to begin or where to end. These early writings are becoming more interesting daily, and we trust, ere many years have passed, that no education will be deemed complete which does not place Early English in its proper position. We educate our children in all the old-world stories of foreign lands, why should we condemn them to an ignorance of those of our own country? The stories of Arthur and the others whose names are connected with his, are worthy of being known for their own sakes; but when we remember that our language and much of our literature have grown out of these beginnings, it becomes imperative that we should neglect them

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\* "*Le Morte Arthur*." Edited from the Harleian MS., 2252 in the British Museum, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. Camb. Macmillan and Co. 1864.

no longer. Popular, under one form or another, they cannot fail to be. Hitherto the obscurity in which they have remained, and the difficulty, more fancied than real, of reading the English of six hundred or seven hundred years old, have done much to keep us in ignorance. Now our public schools are beginning to realize the advantages attending their study, and an impetus is given to the obtaining an acquaintance with our native tongue and our native writers, this early literature will take its proper place and yield us fruits of which we little dream.

No man can study this Arthurian period, with its unselfishness, its bravery, its loyalty to God and the king, without being the better. The pattern men and women set before us are not faultless—were they so we might despair. Arthur sinned his sin, which found him out when, his mind clouded with doubt, “he took his way

“To the island-valley of Avilion;  
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,  
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies  
Deep-meadow’d, happy, fair with orchard-lawns  
And bowery hollows crown’d with summer sea,”\*

to heal him of his grievous wound. The matchless Guinevere sinned grievously, expiating her sin at Almesbury in prayers and watchings. Lancelot sinned, and the courtliest knight that ever bare shield, the truest friend that ever bestrode a horse, the truest lover that ever loved woman, the kindest man that ever struck with sword, the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights, the meekest and gentlest man that ever eat in hall among ladies, and the sternest knight to foe that ever laid spear in rest,† spent seven years in the solitude of his hermitage, during all which time his sins were the subject of his repentance; and the brave Sir Bedivere was twice disobedient to his dying master’s last commands, overcome by the sight of the jewels which sparkled in the hilt of the famous sword Excalibur. No matter; they render the whole story more human, and consequently more attractive, and more likely to yield advantage to the reader.

Next to the Arthur Romances the class comprising Havelok the Dane and King Horn may be mentioned. Havelok possesses an especial interest, not only because of its early date,‡ but also for its bearing upon a portion of our history of which the records are not too numerous. It has been twice edited,§ and

\* Tennyson, “The Passing of Arthur,” p. 155, ed. 1870.

Malory’s “Arthur,” p. 413, ed. 1868. † Ab. 1280.

§ (1) By Sir F. Madden, for the Roxburghe Club, in 1828. (2) By the Rev. W. W. Skeat, for the E.E.T.S., in 1866.

the Story has been paraphrased by Professor Morley in his "English Writers," so we need not repeat it here, but for the present dismiss this portion of our subject. Layamon's Brut has only been referred to;\* Peter Langtoft's Chronicle;† The Knight de la Tour Laundry;‡ The History of the Seynt Graal or Sank Ryal;§ and many other works belonging to the period of which we write, must be referred to some future date, or to the researches of our readers.

The religious and miscellaneous literature of the Middle Ages is so voluminous that the bare enumeration of the titles of the more prominent works would occupy some time. In the space which we have at our command we cannot hope to do more than draw attention to some parts of that mine of wealth which is almost inexhaustible.

As the years roll on, and as men's minds, sated with the empty platitudes of which so much of our modern religious literature is composed, are turned in longing for something which bears the stamp of reality, more and more of these early writings are brought to the light of day. "The ages of faith" are not to be wholly despised. If men believed too much, they believed thoroughly, and this was far better than believing too little, and that in such a half-hearted way that it is often more pernicious than no belief at all—pernicious to the professor of it, in that it makes him a sham; pernicious to those by whom he is surrounded, in that his example only tends to increase the hollowness which is spreading itself among us, and which bids fair in a short time to pervade the whole of modern society. The statesman pleads for party or for place; and the divine—divine often only in name, and showing little or none of that divinity which he should live as well as preach—occupies his time and uses his talents in discussing the colour of his garments, or his position at "God's board," while a neighbouring city is burning, and the seething masses of our own country, sympathizing more or less with the bold attempt to produce a greater equality among mankind, are becoming less and less inclined to receive his ministrations, and more ready to cast in his teeth the old taunt, "Physician, heal thyself!" If our religious teachers believe in their mission, let us see some other evidence of their belief than their unseemly wrangling one with another; let us hear words of no uncertain sound from their lips, and let them be, as they should be and might be, the leaders of the time. We do not mean to urge them to seek popularity; that the true lovers of the people will never

\* Ante, pp. 161, 163. † Edited by Hearne, 1725. Reprinted 1810.

‡ Edited by T. Wright, Esq., for the E.E.T.S., in 1868.

§ Edited for the Roxburghe Club by F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 1863—64.

gain, the multitude being, as a rule, blind to its best interests, and too often only bent on obtaining that which is either beyond its reach, or which if attained would prove mischievous.

Our old writers, using the light which was in them, acting up to what they considered their duty, and exercising the privilege which the priesthood gave them, were not slow in endeavouring to use their influence for what they deemed to be the good of mankind. Sturdily independent, yielding no jot of their rights to Pope or King, they endeavoured, while shielding the poor from the power of the oppressor, to teach all what was their duty to God and man. True, this was done by means which we despise. The fear of a material hell influences men but little now, but it was a veritable power then; the excommunication by a priest is laughed at now, or rather courted, inasmuch as the man on whose head the vial is poured is treated as a martyr and a hero; as a martyr, because he suffers for "liberty;" as a hero, because he has dared, single-handed, to defy the Church. To endeavour to teach men by the examples of those who have lived before us is equally futile; the examples are looked upon as no better than "old wives' fables," invented and retailed to frighten children. Of course we are right in all this, and equally of course our fathers were wrong; though we must, perforce, confess that they got on pretty well, considering their profound ignorance and profounder superstition. We look back with pity upon those who had the misfortune to live in the fourteenth century, conveniently forgetting the long roll of names which lent it a brilliancy which has never been surpassed, and scarcely equalled since. What names rise before us! Dante, Petrarch, on the Continent; Chaucer, Gower, Wycliffe, Langland, of our own country and familiar to our ears, to which we might add many a less known name, but not the less deserving of remembrance.

If men think of our early writers at all, and by a supreme effort carry back their minds beyond the Elizabethan age, they generally travel a dreary waste, illumined only by the fires of civil and foreign war, till they rest at the name of Chaucer, who is with the majority of readers a writer to be wondered at and avoided. They judge there can be little or nothing in him "that a Christian ought to know," and when they do hear any one express an opinion that Chaucer well repays attention, they class that man as a literary fanatic, harmless perhaps, useless certainly. Gower too is neglected, and is likely to be. Wanting in that freshness which is so characteristic of his friend and contemporary, and wearisome by the length of his "confessions" and their want of human sympathy, Gower will never be so eagerly sought after by the students of our early poetry as Chaucer.

Differing from these two, inferior to them in genius, but superior in his might, Wycliffe stands out above all the turmoil and glory of this century, not as the brilliant poet, the courtly wit, or the brave and skilful warrior, but as the scholar, as the man who is popularly believed to have been the first to dare to set his hand to translating the Bible, as though in anticipation of the invention of printing which was to be the next great step in the advance of knowledge.

While Chaucer and Gower were living in the sunshine of the Court, and while Wycliffe was engaged in his divine task at Lutterworth, far away under the shelter of the Malvern hills, with that "broad expanse and free" stretching before him farther than the eye can reach, rested William Langland, revolving in his teeming mind that celebrated "Vision" which will render him famous to the end of time. Chaucer, full of the frolic and fun which a ride over the Kentish hills in the merry month of May would call out, introduces us to none of the deep questions which were agitating men's minds. The priests had in some instances grown to be the coarse joke of the profligate or the light-hearted, and as such Chaucer treated them, never troubling his head whether the Church could be reformed or no, and rarely condescending to deal with the simple annals of the poor. But Langland's mind was cast in another mould; the iron had entered deeply into his soul before he wrote—

"In a somer seson whan soft was the sonne,  
I shope me in shroudes as I a shepe were,  
In habite as an heremite vnholý of werkes,  
Went wyde in this world wondres to here.  
Ac on a May mornynge on Maluerne hilles  
Me byfel a ferly of fairy me thoughte;  
I was wery forwandred and went me to reste  
Vnder a brode banke bi a bornes side,  
And as I lay and lened and loked in the wateres  
I slombred in a slepyng it sweyued so merye."\*

In his day, as often since, there was much that was wrong. Falsehood was in favour with the friars, and Bribery had its home in and near the seat of Justice. By him Pride, which for appearance sake took the vow of humility, and Luxury that of abstinence; Envy, which hypocritically confessed his evil thoughts, and Avarice his lies and his fraud; Gluttony, who, when ill from the effects of his debauch, repented; and Sloth, who prayed earnestly for forgiveness, as well as many other characters, are sketched off with a master's hand, and made to

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\* "The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman," &c. P. 1. Edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A., &c. E.E.T.S. 1869.



reveal the sores which then rankled and festered in the commonwealth. It is no part of our plan to go through the whole of this remarkable Poem. It deals, as we have said, with the sadder page of our country's history ; with that side which is too commonly turned down lest it should meet the public gaze or offend the public taste. Well would it be for us if we looked more intently on it, and endeavoured to read the deep lessons which it contains.

Another writer, of a class quite distinct from the preceding one, is Richard Rolle de Hampole, better known as Hampole,\* from the priory of that name near Doncaster, in which he lived, and died about the year 1349. Hampole (as we shall continue to call him) wrote especially for unlearned Englishmen—for Englishmen who did not understand Latin†—and as a consequence appealed to a wider audience than if he had written in a learned language for learned men. His books became very popular, judging from the number of manuscripts which are still in existence, containing more or less of his poems, copied by various scribes, and altered to suit the dialect of the district. His prose treatises too must have been favourites, for we learn that, his shrine having become a favourite resort of pilgrims, it was found necessary to keep his writings “in cheyn bondes,” to prevent their appropriation by any devout but not over-conscientious admirer.‡

The necessity for such a precaution will not be wondered at if we consider a little the writings themselves, and the circumstances under which they appeared. Hampole had lived through the wretched and barren reign of Edward II., and had no doubt been an unwilling listener to the scandals which were so rife in high places during the lifetime, and for years after the death, of that pusillanimous king. To these succeeded the never-ending wars of Edward III., now in the Northumbria of Hampole against the Scots, and now abroad against the French. Yet these events enter little into his writings, if at all. Men's minds were doubtless “racked and stretched” by the occurrences around them, the desire for knowledge, as well as the desire for power, was increasing rapidly; the first tremblings of a mighty upheaval were beginning to be felt, and men were willing to encourage any who would aid them in their onward march. Hampole, observing from his hermitage the signs of the times, employed his talents in

\* (1) “The Pricke of Conscience (*Stimulus Conscientiæ*).” A Northumbrian Poem. By Richard Rolle de Hampole. Edited by Richard Morris. Published for the Philological Society by A. Asher and Co. Berlin. 1863. (2) “English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole.” Edited from Robert Thornton's MS. by George G. Perry, M.A., &c. E.E.T.S. 1866.

† “Pricke of Conscience,” p. 10.

‡ Prose Treatises, p. vi.

the most honourable as well as the most useful manner: he would teach his countrymen in their own familiar language all that he could, and fit them for the changes which he probably foresaw; and so he composed a poem extending over some ten thousand lines! It will not be expected that we should follow him through his discussions on the wretchedness of mankind, of which he must have seen many proofs: the instability of all mundane things, the pains of death, the purifying fires of Purgatory, the tokens which will precede the Day of Doom and the proceedings of that Day, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven. These are the chief topics of the book, but their enumeration conveys only a poor idea of the immense amount of information concerning the religious speculations and beliefs, the ideas which men had of the universe, of nature, of the earth, the air, and the sea, at that time.\*

The prose treatises of Hampole are unfortunately very few. They perhaps give us a more favourable idea of the man than we gain from his poem—certainly we see more of him as the homely earnest teacher of those who flocked to listen to him, and were charmed by the eloquence of the old man. Preaching from the text "*Oleum effusum nomen tuum*,"† he bursts forth—

"Sothely the ryghtwyse sekys the joye and the lufe and thay fynd it in Ihesu whayn thay luffede. I yede abowte be couaytise of reches and I fande noghte Ihesu. I rane the wanntonnes of flesche and I fande noghte Ihesu. I satt in companyes of worldly myrthe and I fand noghte Ihesu. In all thire I soghte Ihesu bot I fand hym noghte, for he lett me wyte by his grace that he ne is fundene in the lande of softly lyfande. Tharefore I turnede by anothire waye, and I rane a-bowte be pouerte and I fande Ihesu pure, borne in the worlde, laid in a crybe and lapped in elathis. I yode by sufferynge of werynes and I fand Ihesu wery in the way, turment with hungre, thriste, and calde, fild with repreues and blames. I satt by mine ane [alone] fleande the vanytes of the worlde and I fande Ihesu in deserte, fastande in the monte, anely prayande. I rane by the payne of penauce and I fand Ihesu bowndene, scourged, gyffene galle to drynke, naylede to the Cross, hyngand in the Crosse and dycand in the Crosse. Tharefore Ihesu es noghte fundene in reches bot in pouerte, noghte in delytes bot in penance; noghte in wanton joyeynge, bot in bytter gretynge, noghte emange many bot in anelynes."‡

Equally interesting and equally vigorous are his moral stories, his Treatises on the Ten Commandments, and the Union of

\* Of the birth, life, and death of Antichrist, we venture to affirm that this book contains more information than all our modern prophets and expounders put together have given us; and we have no hesitation in recommending it to their careful attention.

† Canticles, i. 3.

‡ "Prose Treatises," pp. 4, 5.

[Vol. XCVI. No. CLXXXIX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XL. No. I. N

God with the soul of man, and his discourse on active and contemplative life. They are interesting as the expressions of a good and active man serving his generation to the best of his ability, at a time when it is too common to assume that the whole land was given over to ignorance and sloth: they are valuable as standards of the language which was spoken in the Northumbrian district, and they serve in the hands of the increasing number of students of philology, to throw light upon much which would otherwise have remained obscure.

Contemporary with Hampole, but living in the county of Kent, "Dan Michel of Northgate," Canterbury, was engaged at this time in writing *The Ayenbite of Inwyt*,\* or the Remorse of Conscience. Hampole's great work was drawn from different books, "but the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*† is a literal translation of a French treatise, entitled *Le somme des Vices et de Vertues* . . . . composed in the year 1279, for the use of Philip the Second of France."‡ The Editor regards it as the most important and valuable yet published of all the English works of the fourteenth century, and holds that it must ever be regarded as the standard of comparison for the language of the time in which it was written.

The contrast between Dan Michel's English of Kent of 1340 and Gower's English of 1392—Gower himself was probably a native of the same county§—is sufficiently striking to justify us in placing a few lines from each writer in juxtaposition:—

Efterward | comth slacnesse |  
et comth | of the defaute | of  
herte | and of kueade wone . thet  
bint zuo thane man | thet on-  
neathe | he him yelth | to done  
wel . otheruill hit comth | of on-  
connyndehede: and of sole herte.  
huer-by the man | op-let zuo his  
herte | and his body | be ues-  
tinges, and be wakinges . and by  
othre dedes . zuo thet he ualth |  
ine fyeblisse | and ine zuiche zik-  
nesse, etc.—*Ayenbite*, p. 33.

The see nowe ebbeth and nowe it  
floweth,  
The lond now welketh and now it  
groweth,  
Now be the trees with leues  
grene,  
Now they be bare and no thing  
sene,  
Now be there lusty somer floures,  
Now be there stormy winter  
shoures,  
Now be the daies, now the nightes,  
So stant there no thing al up-  
rightes.

*Conf. Amantis*, i. 35, ed. 1857.

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\* Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*; or, Remorse of Conscience. In the Kentish Dialect, 1340, A.D. Edited by R. Morris, Esq., F.E.T.S. 1866. It was edited by Stevenson for the Roxburghe Club in 1855.

† It means the *again-biting* of the inner wit.

‡ "*Ayenbite of Inwyt*." Edited by Morris.

§ "*Confessio Amantis*." Edited by Dr. R. Pauli, 1857. Intro. vii.

Several reasons might be given for this difference of language, but the chief was that, while Gower wrote the language of the Court, Dan Michel wrote that which was in common use among the classes to whom the language and the refinements of the palace\* were almost unknown. Chaucer's language, like Gower's, stands immeasurably lifted above that of any other writer of this century, and shows the advances which our tongue was beginning to make, and the great things of which it was capable. These wrote for the learned and polite, and it was but right that they should clothe their poetry in the garb which would gain it an admittance within this charmed circle. De Hampole, Dan Michel, Robert of Brunne, and others of this century, had no such ambition. In 1303 Brunne† wrote—

“For lewd‡ men I undertook  
In English tongue to make this book.”

And Hampole in like manner, in 1340—

“Therefore this book is in English drawn  
Of sere§ matters that are unknown  
To lewd men that are unkunnand ||  
That can no Latin understand,  
To make them themselves first know,  
And from sin and vanities them draw.”¶

While Dan Michel's “apology” is—

“This book is writ in English of Kent.  
This book is made for lewd men,  
For father and for mother and for other kin,  
Them for to bear from all manner sin.”\*\*

Prompted by motives like these, it is no wonder that they brought their thoughts down to the language of those whose well-being they had at heart. Doing this, they succeeded in the task which they placed before themselves, and at the same time handed down the language of their own day for our use and our instruction.

In the same century, but a little earlier, a third writer, who may conveniently be classed with Hampole and Dan Michel, flourished in Lincolnshire. Robert of Brunne, or Bourne, well known by his “Handlyng Synne,”†† by his translation of Peter Langtoft's Chronicles,‡‡ and (though in a less degree) by his

\* The editor looks upon Dan Michel as one of the *pure* Southern writers. See Morris's edition of “Genesis and Exodus,” p. xviii.

† Robert Manning, of Brunne. ‡ Uncarned. § Several. || Ignorant. ¶ “Prick of Conscience,” p. 10. \*\* “Ayenbite,” p. 262.

†† Edited for the Roxburghe Club, by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., 1862.

‡‡ Edited by T. Hearne, 1725.

"Meditations on the Lord's Supper," &c.,\* not yet published. His "Handling Sin" he evidently intended to be a popular book, a book which, if the people could not read, they would be glad to listen to. He would speak to them of the Commandments, of the seven sins, of the seven sacraments, of the twelve points of shrift, and the twelve graces which sprang from shrift; and all should be mingled with tales, rhymes, and marvels, for he wrote for "lewd men" who would gladly listen to these. The whole is a curious admixture of paraphrases of Scripture, stories of dreams, omens, witchcraft, and so on. Warnings he uttered against drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, the oppression and robbery of which the rich were often guilty, lying, slandering, and all the other shortcomings which ever have been, and we fear ever will be, common to mankind. We, in our day, can enter as well as his hearers could into his meaning when he says—

"Tavern is the devil's knife,  
It slays thee,—either soul or life."†

And again, what wisdom is contained in

"Love not thy children out of wit;  
Trust to them, and helpless sit!"

And, once more, where the Puritan spirit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to have been anticipated—

"Dancees, carols, summer games,—  
Of many such come many shames."

The influence of such books must have been immense. They supplied the people with stories, proverbs, wise sayings from classic authors, and a large amount of Bible knowledge, and gave in addition a sly blow now and then at the lazy and immoral parson, who was rarely spared by lay or clerical writer when the opportunity occurred to make him smart for his misdeeds. There was much more freedom of opinion and liberty of speech in these centuries than we have an idea of. Men thought pretty well as they liked, they wrote what they chose, and translated that which took their fancy. No matter whether the book contained much or little of the Bible, no matter whether the religious orders were lashed or no, all were turned into English speech, if it was thought that any good would come thereby,

\* Harleian MS. 1701. He was a voluminous writer, or rather translator, for his "Handlyng Synne" is partly a translation, and partly an adaptation, of William of Waddington's French Treatise, "Manuel des Pechiez." The Chronicle, as we have already stated, is from Peter Langtoft, and the Meditations from St. Bonaventure.

† That is, body.



either by their being read, or by their affording materials for the preaching clergy.

A notable instance of this translating spirit, as we may call it, is afforded by the *Story of Genesis and Exodus* of about the middle of the thirteenth century.\* The author of this introduces his subject by telling his readers, in a very brief preface, that men ought to love a story in rhyme, which will teach them how to conduct themselves, even if ignorant of books, and how to attain to that rest which God will give. He drew this song, he says, out of Latin into English speech; and to hear the story of man's bliss and sorrow and the devil's overthrow, related in "londes speche and wordes smale," ought to make him as "fain" or joyful as birds are when they first perceive the dawn. His object having been to render only the more important parts of the narrative into English, he wisely exercised his discretion and omitted what was not essentially necessary to the completeness of his story.† He did not bind himself down to a literal translation, but he used his liberty sparingly, only expanding his subject here and there, and generally with advantage either to the meaning or in adding to the interest of the narrative. A few lines only from this very curious and valuable writer must suffice. The following extract will show the kind of liberty which the author occasionally took with his original:—

"Nembrot gat hise feres red,  
For that he hadde of water dred,  
To maken a tur, wel heg & strong,  
Of tigel and ter, for water-gong;  
Twelwe and sexti men woren thor-to,  
Meister men for to maken it so.  
Al was on speche thor bi-foren,  
Thor woren sundri speches boren;  
Tho wurthen he frigti and a-grisen,  
For thor was sundri speches risen,  
Sexti lond-speches and xii. mo,  
Weren delt thane in werlde tho.  
Babel, that tur, bi-lef un-mad,  
That folc is wide on londe sad;  
Nembrot nam with strengthhe that lond,  
And helde the tur o Babel in his hond.‡

Allied to the *Genesis and Exodus*, yet differing from it in

\* "The *Story of Genesis and Exodus*: an Early English Song, about 1250 A.D." Edited by R. Morris, E.E.T.S. 1865.

† "Genesis and Exodus," p. vi. The chief omissions from *Genesis and Exodus*, and the portions of *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy* which are included, are given by Mr. Morris at the foot of p. viii.

‡ "Genesis and Exodus," ll. 659—674.

time, dialect, and treatment of subject, are the Alliterative Poems,\* supposed to be by the author of "Gawayne and the Green Knight." The poems are three in number, all of a devoutly religious cast, and all written probably in a season of the deepest affliction—they are indeed the outpourings of a heart overwhelmed by the loss of a beloved child, whose infant prattle was silenced in death when only two years of age. The father visits his child's grave in the "high season of August," where, giving way to his grief, he falls asleep, and his dream, in which he sees and converses with his lost "Pearl," and is only separated from her by a narrow stream, forms the subject of the first poem, which inculcates resignation to the will of God; the second, which consists of several Biblical stories rendered into alliterative verse, advocates purity of life; the third poem, called by the editor "Patience," is a paraphrase of the book of Jonah. If the reader cares to master the "uncouth forms" which abound in this volume, he will find the whole written with much spirit, and pervaded by many sentiments which serve to raise the author very high in our estimation. His dialect is against him, and it must ever prove an obstacle to that acquaintance with the poems which they deserve. The effect produced by the handwriting on the wall upon Belshazzar affords a good example of the writer's manner of treating his subject. It is thus described:—

"In the palace principal upon the plain wall,  
Opposite to the candlestick that clearest there shone,  
There appeared a palm with a pointel in its fingers,  
That was grisly and great and grimly it writes,  
None other form but a fist failing the wrist,  
Pared on the plaster, pourtrayed letters.  
When that bold Belshazzar looked to that fist,  
Such a dazing dread dashed to his heart,  
That all faded his face and failed his cheer;  
The strong stroke of the blow strained his joints,  
His knees catch too close, and clutch his hains,  
And he unfolding his palms displays his features,  
And howls as a frightened hound that roars for dread,  
Ever beholding the hand till it had all graven,  
And rasped on the rough wall uncouth words."†

We have thus imperfectly noticed a very few of the books which from seven hundred years to four hundred years ago were making their way through unknown difficulties into the hearts and minds of men. We have purposely confined our remarks to

\* "Early English Alliterative Poems, in the West-Midland Dialect of the Fourteenth Century. Edited by Richard Morris, E.E.T.S. 1864.

† Editor's Translation, p. xv.

the period preceding the close of the fifteenth century, but we are painfully conscious of how much we have left even unmentioned. The lives of saints, the moral and religious poems, the hymns, the homilies, the books written for the instruction and guidance of the clergy and religious orders, Lydgate's writings, and a thousand other subjects and writers present themselves to our view and claim some brief notice at our hands. Not one of these but demands and would well repay attention. Their name may be "legion," and many of them may treat of exploded beliefs and old doctrines, which having had their day, have ceased to be, and can never be galvanized into life again. Nor do we wish it. But as the votary of science loves to trace back the various forms of life through the myriads of ages which have preceded him, so we who love our glorious English language and literature, desire to trace them back into their hidden recesses, to their antique and uncouth forms, and look at the rock from whence they were hewn, the hole of the pit from whence they were digged; and we try to bring up thence something which shall throw some gleam of light on many a mystery yet unsolved, many a doubt not yet cleared away.

We have been long labouring at this English of ours. The earliest traces of it are still fixed in the names of our rivers and hills; in *Beowulf* and *Cædmon* we trace its growth; the over-runnings of our country by strangers from other lands—always barbarians to the plundered and suffering inhabitant—then scored deeply many a line on its page, probably erasing much that was old, or too weak to maintain its position. After these Alfred, who still holds his mysterious sway over us, in the intervals when his right hand was not required to grasp the spear, used the pen and gave that impetus to writing the language which troubles, widespread and many, had rendered so needful. This was continued by the chroniclers, biographers of saints, homilists, the authors of the "*Ormulum*," the "*Anceren Riwle*," and many other still extant works, till the solid ground on which Chaucer stood was reached. Much of this poetry lacks the pathos which was then found in that of other countries; the prose lacks the grace and polish and sentiment which are so attractive; but poetry and prose were the work of men who had little thought for the graces which style can give; their whole aim was to raise the moral and religious character of their countrymen, and to improve their social condition. For these ends many of them passed their laborious lives in the loneliness of the monastic cell, forgotten of almost all men, but never forgetting the great work which they endeavoured to forward as God gave them ability.

## ART. VIII.—THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.

*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates; February to June, 1871.*

A CRY of despair and indignation uplifted some twenty years ago by the writer of "Latter-day Pamphlets" awakened in the heart of England an angry impatience of all that system of administrative routine and legislative formality which is extolled by political philosophers like Delolme as "the British Constitution." An eminent person provoked controversy, but did not incur serious reproof, by the assertion that Parliamentary Government was on its trial. Then, by the blindness and weakness of our rulers we found ourselves embarked in a war with a great military empire, and when we had begun to exult over the triumphant valour of our soldiers, we were stricken with bitter grief at the news that, again through the blindness and weakness of those who ruled us, our gallant army was left to perish of hunger and cold on the hill-side of Balaklava. What wonder that men were filled with doubt and disgust at all the elaborate machinery, so long and so surely trusted, which in the first hour of trial had helplessly broken down? What wonder that Mr. Carlyle's scorn of "Downing Street" and all its belongings, commended itself to many honest perplexed Englishmen?

"Vain," he had said, "vain to reform Parliament, to invent ballot-boxes, to reform this or that; the real administration, practical management of the commonwealth, goes all awry, choked up with long accumulated pedantries, so that your appointed workers have been reduced to work as moles, and it is one vast boring and counterboring on the part of eyeless persons irreverently called stupid, and a Dædalean bewilderment, writing 'impossible' on all efforts and proposals, supervenes."

In spite of the warning thus grimly conveyed against hoping aught from Parliamentary Reform, or other political panacea, most of us believed that whatever drawbacks or dangers might attend an extension of the suffrage to the workmen of England, the change could not fail to invigorate the languid action of the legislature, to send a flood of nervous energy along with the new blood bounding in its veins, to kindle somewhere a spark of the sacred fire of statesmanship. If the rule of the English middle-class had been favourable to the material well-being of the nation,

it had been deplorably wanting in the priceless quality of initiative. "Rest and be thankful" was not the pious aspiration of a veteran Whig alone; it was the prayer of sleepy content in which Governments, Parliaments, and Electorate ignobly joined. But at last the slumber was rudely broken, and the labouring masses claiming their inheritance of citizenship could not be gainsaid. It was not too much to hope that the Parliamentary Antæus, touching Mother Earth again, would receive a new measure of strength. The elections of 1868 were conducted with a promising display of healthy vigour, and if the statesmanship proffered on the hustings had neither, it seemed, wide grasp nor clear sight, there was much room for sanguine expectations in the newly discovered process of educating parties and party leaders.

Mr. Disraeli had boasted in a moment of genial indiscretion that he had educated his party; the Liberals knew very well, though they did not make it much a matter of boasting, that they had educated their leader. Mr. Gladstone's manifest earnestness, the passionate sincerity with which he cast aside old beliefs and championed late-found convictions, appeared to promise an era of stirring Parliamentary enterprise, of bold attacks on fortified abuses, of administrative vigour, of courageous initiative in the conception and prosecution of reforms. Such were the hopes fostered by the eloquent speeches which proved ineffectual to win coy Lancashire, but kindled a genuine enthusiasm for the Liberal chief throughout the country. Personally Mr. Gladstone has few, if any, of the qualities which conquer popularity; his somewhat ascetic temper, his singular combination of an almost morbid scrupulosity of conscience with a subtle casuistry too delicate in its distinctions to be followed in all cases by ordinary intellects, his zeal for public economy by which he has done such valuable service to the State, even his stately and sonorous oratory, all united to make him a man more honoured than loved by the people. The blunt frankness and healthy animalism of Lord Palmerston, the impetuosity, just tempered with a dash of aristocratic hauteur which marked the late Lord Derby, were characteristics more readily appreciated by the people, more attractive to them than any of the elements of Mr. Gladstone's genius. And yet Mr. Gladstone's popularity during the elections of 1868, and the first session of the Reformed Parliament, was sufficient not only to carry him into power with the largest majority at his back that the present generation has seen, not only to coerce a reluctant House of Peers into the acceptance of measures which they detested, but to win the nation over to approve a policy in favour of which there was little or no popular movement. The Irish Church Bill was accepted by the constituencies as a



long delayed, a just, and necessary concession; the Irish Land Bill was even less understood in this country, but it was granted with equal alacrity. Yet it was neither the policy of disestablishment nor the agrarian policy of Mr. Gladstone that was the ground of that enthusiasm which lifted him so lightly into power. Without personal popularity, without a party cry that deeply moved the people, he came into office with the irresistible claim of one who was recognised and adopted as the leader of the party of progress.

How has Mr. Gladstone justified his title to the allegiance of those who believe that there is much to be amended in our political system and in our social scheme? The enthusiasm which was at his service so long as he faithfully served the cause of progress was a priceless treasure, which once lost is scarcely to be gained again. The history of the present session has shown by what a succession of blunders, delays, and tergiversations the popularity so vital to the energies and even the very existence of the Government has been squandered away. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, wrapped in the complacency of officialism and believing themselves to be sheltered from all danger beneath the ægis of their majority, appear to be unaware how rapidly and completely they are losing their hold over the country. And when once they have lost their hold upon the country, their majority, which is even now growing mutinous and divided, will be scattered like a flock of sheep having no shepherd.

The decline of Mr. Gladstone's popularity began last year. It depended mainly upon him whether the new system of National Education which the country demanded should be built up on the old foundations of sectarian dissension, ecclesiastical arrogance, and competing superstitions, or upon the broad basis of individual freedom and the neutrality of the State in matters appertaining to religion. If the Prime Minister had chosen the latter course—he, who though a late convert to the cause, was pledged to the emancipation of the Universities from the clerical yoke—he would have carried a measure going to the root of English thought and life, wakening, invigorating, inspiring. His majority, with a few insignificant exceptions, was ready to follow him; the nation was, we are convinced, equally ready to approve. It would have been sound policy to have risked or lost office in such a cause; to have fought for it would have educated the country and prepared a sure and near triumph. But there was in fact no risk; the Tories had failed to excite any fervour of bigotry in the constituencies by their No Popery cry in 1868. A strong policy on the question of Elementary Education would have been as safe as it would have been honest.

But Mr. Gladstone faltered ; whether the remnants of his early training clung about his mind, or his courage was not equal to the task, is not a material consideration. The fatal fact was that he abandoned his party, defeated the efforts of the thorough-going educational reformers by the votes of the Tories and of the wavering band of Janissaries which is always ready to follow a Minister wherever he leads. The Education Act of 1870, built upon a compromise and a betrayal, is not a settlement of the question ; it is an unsubstantial, evanescent, dishonest piece of work, and that Mr. Gladstone should be responsible for it, is the first element in that feeling of distrust which is gathering against him throughout the country.

But in spite of the damaging effect of his policy last year, a prospect rich in opportunities for the exercise of statesmanship opened before the Administration at the beginning of the present year. The indiscreet pursuit of economy had weakened our armaments so much, that when we saw the power of France laid low by the Germans we were startled to find ourselves practically defenceless. Yet the nation was ready to forgive the errors which had been committed—and which indeed it had itself approved or condoned—on the condition that immediate reparation should be made. It was not endurable that our liberties and our possessions should lie at the mercy of the first daring invader ; it was before all things necessary that we should have an army capable of defending our soil, and a navy strong enough to guard the great avenues of our commerce. In spite of the melancholy fate of the *Captain*, we had confidence in our naval strength ; but when we looked for our army we found that we had none. We charged Mr. Gladstone without delay to provide for the deficiency, and we learned with a moderate amount of satisfaction that during the recess Mr. Cardwell had been concentrating his genius on the problem of Army reform.

The Queen's speech was full of encouraging promises. The Army was to be reconstructed, the Universities were to be emancipated, the Liquor Traffic was to be regulated, Local Government was to be reorganized, Law Reform, which had been looked for impatiently ever since Lord Hatherley's elevation to the woolsack, loomed at last in sight. The Ballot, which had found distinguished converts in eminent Cabinet Ministers unseated at the last General Election, was to be pushed forward as a Government measure. It would be tedious to enumerate the minor reforms that we were told to expect. Mr. Bruce even, who had hitherto done nothing in office except get through a cab law that has ludicrously failed, promised us a whole batch of legislative exploits. Irish affairs, we had hoped, were for a time got out of the way, and it was reasonable to anticipate some

mature consideration for the most pressing claims of England and Scotland. We have now reached the end of June, and of all that was promised so pompously five months ago, what has been accomplished? The University Tests Bill has become law, and the House of Commons has agreed to abolish purchase in the Army. Mr. Bruce has sacrificed or mutilated all his bantlings; Mr. Lowe has irritated taxpayers and insulted economists in supplanting his first ridiculous Budget by a palpably unjust and dangerous one; Mr. Gladstone has succeeded in undoing nearly all that had been achieved in Ireland by the legislation of the two preceding sessions, and has given a new impulse to agitation in the sister kingdom by his ill-advised Westmeath Bill.

Mr. Goschen at the Admiralty is probably quite as able an administrator as his predecessor, and it is to be hoped that he will be more cautious than Mr. Childers in building costly vessels that go down in the first gale they have to face. Unfortunately the treatment of Sir Spencer Robinson and Mr. Reed was not likely to encourage the administrative ability and the inventive talent of the country to enlist in the service of the Admiralty. Even when the Government is in the right, it seems to have a knack of putting itself in the wrong; and the right thing done in the wrong way is as damaging to a Minister's popularity as any wrong thing can be. Mr. Stausfeld, who succeeded Mr. Goschen at the Poor Law Board, is perhaps not fairly to be blamed because he has done nothing, and Mr. Chichester Fortescue, who was probably removed to the Board of Trade because he was intended to do nothing, has been sufficiently devoted to the doctrine of non-interference to satisfy even Mr. Bright. The late Irish Secretary had been tolerably popular in Ireland, because the priesthood always found him ready to do their bidding, whether it was in concocting a secret blow at free education or in appointing a stipendiary magistrate; but the same qualities which were found useful at Dublin Castle were not equally well fitted to get through the only important piece of work which has now to be done by the Board of Trade. Mr. Fortescue is not the man to carry that gigantic measure—the Merchant Shipping Act—so we presume it was not seriously intended by the Government that the Merchant Shipping Act should be carried this year. When we are lamenting that the supply of men for our navy is growing more and more uncertain, we should not forget that we are taking no precautions to guard the lives and the health of our merchant seamen against the cupidity of owners and masters.

The administration of the Foreign Office consists in judicious

abstinence from action, and Lord Granville has shown himself admirably fitted for his position. It is true the Washington Treaty has been satisfactorily settled; we have given up everything we were asked to surrender; the Americans are contented; and Earl De Grey has been made a marquis. We are not disposed to quarrel with the settlement; scarcely any price is too high to pay for the goodwill and friendship of the United States; but an observer who looks dispassionately at the interests of all parties, will be inclined to think that our suave and yielding diplomacy has sacrificed Canadian interests in a manner that is not likely to please the colonists. What may come of the agitation against the Treaty in Canada, it would be premature to speculate; but it is very possible that our Colonial Secretary may have trouble enough in appeasing the colonists for the loss of those privileges that our Foreign Office and our negotiators so jauntily gave away. Like his noble colleagues in the Upper House, the Duke of Argyle has not had any opportunity this year of displaying his statesmanship on any conspicuous scale. India has not engaged public attention at all, except during a brief debate whercin Mr. Grant Duff resisted a demand of Mr. Fawcett for a Commission of Inquiry to collect evidence relating to financial administration in India. So many then of our departments of State have either proved incompetent to do their promised share of work, or excuse themselves only on the plea that they have no work to do. There have been no such brilliant performances on the part of the Foreign, Colonial, and Indian Secretaries, on the part of Mr. Goschen or Mr. Stansfeld, as could serve to extenuate the indolence or incompetence of their colleagues, to gild over the disgrace of Mr. Lowe's financial failures, or to cover the retreat of Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Bruce. We pass from those Ministers who have done nothing, and were in part expected to do nothing, to the broken promises and grievous errors of the others.

The session commenced with an admission on Mr. Gladstone's part that he was still inclining to the tactics of alliance with the Tories, which had borne fruit in the Education Bill of the previous year. How little that alliance and the concessions with which it had been bought had conciliated the Opposition was proved by the contemptuous rejection of the University Tests Bill in the House of Lords. After that defiance it was not to be expected that the Liberal party would bear more of compromise with the enemy, and accordingly it was proposed to include in the Bill introduced this year a clause repealing the restrictions which limit so many of the fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge



to persons in holy orders. These restrictions are acknowledged by the best class of University men to be detrimental to the interests of education, to be morally unwholesome, and practically unjust to clever students who are too proud or too ambitious to submit to the clerical yoke. It was quite certain that the House of Lords would resist as long as it dared, but the question had now reached a point at which resistance became really dangerous. It would have been as easy to carry a complete measure as to carry one which it will certainly be necessary to amend within a very few years. Mr. Gladstone, however, out of the abundance of his respect for the House of Lords, and of his gratitude for the action of that intelligent body on all great questions, declined to touch the clerical fellowships—contending that the extension of the measure would be a breach of faith with the Peers—a breach of faith with the Assembly which had thrown out the Bill in the face of overwhelming majorities in the Lower House, and which was even then concocting some new absurdity in the shape of a test. From the tenor of Mr. Gladstone's speech it was easy to see how little he had yet accepted the freedom of thought which is at the bottom of all reforming movements. We were disappointed, but not so much surprised. We expected, however, that in dealing with practical affairs into which no religious scruples could enter we should find the Prime Minister cool, determined, and far-seeing.

If there was any department of public policy which we should have thought Mr. Gladstone would have treated with prudence, it was the condition of Ireland. He had laid the foundations of a lasting union between this country and the sister kingdom; he had sown with the great expectation that one day he would reap, and it was of the highest importance to him that until the seed had fairly taken root it should not be disturbed. In fact a real confidence in the justice of the Imperial Parliament was springing up in Ireland, when Mr. Gladstone astonished everybody with the proposal of the Westmeath Committee. The plan was open to a double objection; it was in the first place a bad precedent in parliamentary proceedings; it was an attempt to get rid of ministerial responsibility in an unpleasant crisis, and to throw the burden on the shoulders of a committee chosen from both sides of the House. But, in the second place, the resort to repressive measures was mischievous; the greater part of Ireland was more tranquil than it had been for many years, and if Ribbonism was rampant in a single county, it was by no means clear that the ordinary powers of the law and the special authority conferred by the Peace Preservation Act had been fully exerted. What was above all things to be desired was a cessa-



tion of further legislative interference until the Church Act and the Land Act had matured a proper public spirit in the minds of the people. Without such a public spirit, recognising the justice of the laws and prepared to render them active support, penal enactments are worthless. Mr. Gladstone, taking alarm at the dying struggles of that lawlessness to which his own great statutes of redress had given the death-blow, besought Parliament to assist him in suspending the constitutional safeguards of individual freedom in Ireland. Parliament, which in these matters is easily frightened and easily led, consented; and the result is that Lord Spencer is invested with certain despotic powers, that Ribbonism will probably hide its head for a little, but that Irishmen will be confirmed in their distrust of Imperial legislation, and their dislike of a Constitution the privileges of which are suspended whenever their protection is likely to be claimed. The first-fruits of this idle offspring of a panic, is the renewed agitation in Ireland for a repeal of the Union and the unopposed election of a Nationalist member for Westmeath. Before next session we may see other consequences equally fatal to the tranquillity of English Ministers.

It is worth while to notice here the singular conduct of the Prime Minister in regard to the claims of women to the electoral franchise. Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill was opposed by the Government, but it was well known that it would receive the support of some of the leading Conservatives, including Mr. Disraeli himself. In previous years Mr. Gladstone had attacked the claim very bitterly, from the high ground that their sex disqualifies women physically and morally from the exercise of political privileges, but this year, whether it was the unwelcome sight of the Conservative conversion that disturbed his reasoning, or that he has actually arrived at the conclusion that women need not necessarily vote against Liberal candidates, he came down quite abruptly from his lofty position and based his opposition to the Bill entirely on the ground that women are too weak to encounter the rough usage they may encounter at the hustings and the polling booth. If the Parliamentary Election Bill should pass, nomination day be abolished, and secret voting be used as at the School Board contest, we see how Mr. Gladstone's objection to female suffrage vanishes. If, however, the claimants of the right wish to anticipate the evolution of some new argument against their claim in the Premier's fertile mind, they will do well to secure as many converts as possible among candidates and Members of Parliament. No one understands better than Mr. Gladstone the cogent eloquence of a minority that is growing into a majority.

When Mr. Lowe, in spite of his hostility to Parliamentary reform and the havoc he had wrought with Mr. Gladstone's Suffrage Bill of 1866, was brought into the Government, many persons were afraid that the restless and obstinate leader of the Adullamite Secession would prove more dangerous to the Liberal party as an ally than as an enemy. His restless ambition, which is ever tempting him to attempt surprising feats of political legerdemain, his irritable temper, his absolute incapacity to appreciate the intellectual position of an opponent, his impracticable fierceness in following up his ideas to their logical results, were all noted and weighed before he accepted office. But he was credited, at all events, with a respectable knowledge of political economy, and if no one expected him to rival the coherency and solidity of Mr. Gladstone's financial statements, few imagined that he could sink to the level of Mr. Disraeli's unfortunate Budget of 1852. At first all went well with Mr. Lowe; the economical labours of his colleagues in "the great spending departments" presented him with a delightful glimpse of a long vista of surpluses; he was able, with this pleasant prospect in view, to practise without exciting any general disapproval that clever little sleight-of-hand trick by which he obtained a whole quarter's income-tax in advance. Even his freakish attempt to fix the new Law Courts on the Thames Embankment, after all the money that had been spent in acquiring and clearing the Carey Street site, though quietly burked by the House of Commons, was generally laughed at and pardoned. But unluckily for Mr. Lowe, as well as for the English taxpayer, the Continental war and its terrible warnings dispelled the pleasing illusion that we could cut down indefinitely the cost of the great spending departments and luxuriate in the enjoyment of never-ending surpluses. It was imperative upon us to be prepared for war, and we could not make our preparation without a vast and instant outlay. So the duty was laid upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer of providing the means for our defences.

The ingenious Chancellor, we were all assured, would construct us some novel and striking plan, not so pleasant as his former inventions in the days of retrenchment and surpluses, but at all events a plan that would be consistent with his attachment to orthodox economic doctrine, and with his subordination to the ablest minister of finance the present generation has known. The actual product for the emergency was a tax on matches, a threadbare Latin joke, and an ill-advised attempt to increase the succession duties. The match tax would have been comparatively unproductive; it would have led to a gigantic system of fraud on the revenue; it would have extinguished an industry on

which thousands of women and children depend for subsistence. It was first laughed at; but people soon saw that it was no laughing matter. And when the police were sent with orders to coerce the unfortunate work people who had gathered at Westminster to remonstrate against the blow dealt at their wretched livelihood, there was a fierce and universal shout of indignation, and the tax was tamely abandoned. The addition to the succession duties, as well as the change in the mode of levying income-tax from a poundage to a percentage, were reforms for which in calmer times much might have been said; but they inevitably fell in for a share of the unpopularity which justly overwhelmed the match tax. Then came Mr. Lowe's hour of penitence; if he had been wild and absurd in his original suggestion, he was now deliberately mischievous. In the face of a cogent argument against laying taxation on a single class which he had introduced into his Budget speech to justify his match tax, he now proposed to levy the whole of the required amount by adding twopence in the pound to the income-tax. Whether he did this merely to show the House of Commons how disagreeable he could make himself, or actually believed that it was better to frighten the middle-class away from the necessary burdens of defence, he merited the rebuke administered to him by Mr. Fawcett, who pointed out that legislation of this kind was a pandering to one of the most dangerous tendencies of Democratic Government, one of those vices denounced most passionately by Mr. Lowe in the days before he was promoted from the Cave to the Treasury Bench. Finance has been the boast of Liberal Governments since Mr. Gladstone brought to the service of the Liberal party an intellect disciplined under Sir Robert Peel. The reputation so gained Mr. Lowe has destroyed; what is worse, he has inspired working men and the middle class, economists and men of business, with a deep distrust of all the schemes in which he may have a hand.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Ayrton, who seems to regard him as a model, have contrived to irritate all those who from benevolent motives, or from personal interest, are concerned in the preservation of those too rapidly diminishing rights held by the people of this country over some portions of the public domain. The very sharp practice of the Government in claiming the portion of land near the western end of the Thames Embankment was with difficulty defeated by the perseverance and energy of Mr. Smith. The like good service has been rendered in the case of Epping Forest, the New Forest, and other common lands by Mr. Fawcett. Mr. Gladstone himself has taken a course in regard to these questions which can only be designated

as "economy run mad;" but it is the cynical coolness of Mr. Lowe, and the coarse insolence of Mr. Ayrton, that have most deeply wounded the public mind.

While Mr. Lowe was destroying the reputation of the Government for financial skill, Mr. Bruce was contriving to make the settlement of a very difficult question all but impracticable. The Licensing Bill, which the Home Secretary has introduced after an incubation of two years and a half, satisfies nobody. Of course it does not go so far as the United Kingdom Alliance desires, and accordingly the total abstinence party regards Mr. Bruce as a contemptible Laodicean. But it strikes a terrible blow at the vested rights of the publicans, a powerful interest whose hostility we imagine will be felt by the Liberal party at the next general election. It gives the police excessive powers of espionage and control; it restricts the traffic in a manner quite unnecessary for the preservation of public health and morals. The inevitable consequence has followed; all the Bill except the police clauses has been dropped, and it is more than doubtful whether any part of the abortive scheme will become law this year. While Mr. Bruce has been making the confusion of the Licensing Question worse confounded, his Mines Regulation Bill, his Game Law Bill, his Charities Commissioners Bill, and a host of other little measures have been waiting hopelessly for consideration. Already the slaughter of these innocents has begun.

Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Ballot, the Government now stand pledged to that measure. The country has asked for it unmistakably, yet almost at the close of the session the discussion of the Bill has only just commenced in the House of Commons. It is hardly possible, even supposing the Opposition to offer the measure no very vehement resistance, that a scheme which Ministers have altered since last year in at least one most important particular should get through. If it does not, the Radicals, who have long been waiting for their fair share of legislative favour, are likely to teach Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues a lesson.

But, after all, the serious business of the session has been or ought to have been the reorganization of the army. For this we have submitted to be taxed by Mr. Lowe; for this we have postponed our visions of a "free breakfast table;" for this we encounter the wrath of raging colonels, and put an end to the fetish of the commission by purchase. But we believed that we were entitled to have something in return for our money and our sacrifices; we wanted an army on which we could depend for our defence; we were promised such an army by Mr. Cardwell; it was solely with a view to the organization of such a force that we cared at



a great cost to abolish the clumsy absurdities of the purchase system. At the end of four months of talk we have pledged ourselves indeed to pay our money and get rid of our incubus, but we are not a jot nearer the object at which all along we were aiming. Mr. Cardwell's pompous professions have melted into nothingness; his scheme, poor and insufficient as it was for recruiting and co-ordinating under one authority our Regular and Reserve Forces, has entirely disappeared; the reorganization clauses have been dropped, and the Army Regulation Bill is now nakedly presented to us as a Bill for Abolishing Purchase, and for Depriving the Lords Lieutenant of Counties of their Militia Patronage.

We are not altogether sorry that Mr. Cardwell's ineffective plan has reached this lame and impotent conclusion; it was a weakling from its birth; it did not promise all we sought, and what it promised it did not fulfil. For a statesman with genuine initiative genius, the reconstruction of the British army was a labour of inspiring magnificence. To nationalize our defences, to draw out and apply our inexhaustible reserves of patriotism and valour, to utilize for the business of war all the resources of our wealth, our mechanical skill, our inventive genius, these were the ends the nation kept in view. It was the work of a statesman we looked for, a comprehensive plan covering the whole field of military organization; we were offered instead the precise and accurate statement, as of a projected change of clerks in an office, by a stiff and highly intelligent chief clerk. It was impossible to be satisfied with such a poor instalment of reform. We do not sympathize with the shrill rabid officers that fought tooth and nail for the purchase system, but we affirm that the real cause of the mutilation of this hapless Army Regulation Bill was not the "talk of the Colonels." Even Mr. Cardwell, whose capacity for seriousness is quite infinite, could hardly have been serious when he propounded his plan. As far as we can see it would not for years to come have added more than a battalion or two to our available forces for home defence. We are content that the House of Commons should see through and spurn the sham. But a year of priceless value has been wasted, and we are still unprepared if—*absit omen*!—we should drift, as we did once before, into war. And what hope have we that another session will see a better Army Bill? Do men gather grapes of thorns? Is there a being out of Bedlam who still believes in Mr. Cardwell's statesmanship? Angry colonels and didactic Radicals are obstacles in the way of true military reorganization; these, however, may be got over. But when the motive power is wanting, when the engine cannot get along itself, much less drag its heavy train after it, what is



the use of clearing the rails? To be sure, the useless locomotive may be shunted, and the Speaker's chair, they say, is an attractive and convenient siding.

While the gravest affairs of State have thus been handled, it would perhaps be unreasonable to expect that such trifles as Law Reform and Local Government should be attended to by our rulers. The condition of all the Courts of Appellate Jurisdiction in the country, but especially of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, is a public scandal. The Lord Chancellor, who was an active law reformer before his piety was rewarded with a seat on the woolsack, commenced his official career with profuse promises of a complete scheme for the reconstruction of our higher tribunals. The measure which he brought in last year was a very feeble specimen of his handicraft; it was deformed by the cheeseparing spirit which seems to actuate the present Government in everything except architectural extravagances at the West End: it proposed to fill up a real gap in our judicial system by the appointment of the worst of created officials, underpaid judges. It did not need Lord Westbury's crushing criticism to prove that this still-born scheme was no real satisfaction of the pledges which Lord Hatherley had given on taking office. Yet we have not heard that the Lords were so busy this session as to be unable to pass, or do their part in passing, a Judicial Tribunals Bill.

The Administration has been demoralized by its very strength; it fancied itself absolutely secure in its majority; it sees Conservatives weak and Radicals disunited. This confidence is dangerous. If Mr. Gladstone does not take good heed, the Conservatives will soon be strong and the Radicals united. There is a signal deficiency of men capable of leading on either side. Below the gangway Mr. Fawcett is the ablest man on the Liberal benches, but it would be difficult to make Mr. Fawcett in any sense a leader. We are not surprised that the Conservatives are growing tired of Mr. Disraeli's *far niente* chieftainship, and that movements to displace him are constantly and confidently rumoured. But it is in the Ministry that apathy and incapacity are most flagrant and mischievous. If Mr. Gladstone is to remain at the head of his party, he must make up his mind to grasp his staff again and march further on his pilgrimage of conversion. If he is to deal with the questions of the hour he must find others to help him in creating armies and combating vices, beside the dull respectabilities by whom he is now supported.

*Quorsum hæc tam putida tendunt?* What is the meaning of this disastrous collapse of party government, of this criminal waste of the public time, of this abandonment of precious oppor-

tunities and "drownage of all interests, divine and human, in a Noah's deluge of Parliamentary eloquence?" Is there no lesson to be learned from all of it, no warning to be taken to heart? We must go to the root of the matter. Parties have been useful in England, and party government, rationally worked, perhaps still affords the best guarantee for public liberties and steady progress. But if the whole system is not to come down with a perilous crash, the rank and file of the parties that govern the State by turns must let their leaders understand, and the constituencies must make their representatives understand, that proved incompetence, reckless blundering, and inexcusable delays will not be tolerated in high places. The relations of parties and the organization of the official ranks are wanting in elasticity. When a Government succeeds in getting into place an enormous amount of blundering is endured before a question arises so striking that the sense of the House of Commons and the country can be fairly taken upon it. A Premier who rides into power on the foremost wave of a great public agitation finds it difficult with the utmost recklessness and folly to gamble away all his popularity in less than three years. A Minister, when he once obtains a place within the charmed circle and is invested with the indefinable grace which makes an official out of an ordinary man, is almost placed by usage out of the danger of disturbance. He is as secure in his tenure as an Ulster tenant, and he may with impunity neglect his duties year after year, exhibit his incapacity to drag the smallest Government measure through Parliament, and yet retain his place, his dignity, and his capacity for obstruction. It is true there are some displaced officials moping gloomily below the gangway or behind the Treasury bench, but if the public interest, and that alone, prevailed with a Prime Minister, we should soon see some Secretaries of State condoling in congenial exile with Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Bernal Osborne and Mr. Horsman. If proved incompetence for three years is not enough to induce an Administration to get rid of its inefficient members, it ought to be more than enough to elicit from the House of Commons an emphatic expression of opinion, pushed, if need be, to a vote of censure. If the House of Commons has not the courage to discharge this duty, or if members are more closely wedded to the interests of their party than to the well-being of the State, the constituencies are bound to mark and remember and punish the delinquency. If the constituencies are too careless, too lazy, too venal to exert themselves for their own protection, then we must boldly avow that Parliamentary Government, long since said to be on its trial, has irretrievably and shamefully broken down.

ART. IX.—THE FUNCTION OF PHYSICAL PAIN:  
ANÆSTHETICS.

*Report of the Committee on Chloroform, appointed by the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society. ("Medico-Chirurgical Transactions," vol. xlvii.)*

ON the subject of the welcome usefulness of the series of anæsthetics discovered in recent times nothing remains to be said. A rather abject kind of gratitude has been abundantly excited, and fittingly expressed. But the curious moral aspect of these new agencies has been left unregarded. The fact of a large amount of physical suffering having, in this way, been made optional in all but the first pangs, necessitates a complete revisal of the theories of the purposes of bodily pain hitherto held by moralists; and our notions of the cosmical plan itself must be fundamentally modified now it is known that it does not permanently include—as has been thought from time immemorial it did—the cultivation of endurance as a virtue. Quite on the contrary, these lucky accidents of modern chemistry disclose a late-coming easiness of disposition in favour of our escape from sufferance by the pure magic of wholly material contrivances. This is the part of the subject which is most puzzling, when dwelt upon with associations of the old philosophical notions still in the mind—a moral difficulty, after ages of sternest maintenance, at length, by a haphazard advance of modern scientific progress, receives a purely physical solution. It is much as though the economy of nature had suddenly been found so all at once altered, as that, when an easterly wind blew, you only had to do a little oiling to the weather vanes, and instantly the breezes became mild. Not that anæsthetics stand utterly alone in this respect. A great portion of the recent amelioration of human existence is owing to a mechanically-produced enchantment of this sort: lucky new knacks of manipulating material elements,—steam, electricity, and certain chemical compounds,—having surprisingly shown a capability of substituting spiritual progress. It is not, however, with the general doctrine of physical and moral equivalents, so curiously exemplified in modern civilization, that we have now to do, but only with a single set of the new facts, those grouped under the heading anæsthetics.

At the very first handling of the subject it is forced upon you that one consequence of this modern mixing up of physical processes and moral results is a certain air of grotesqueness,

arising from an incongruity of associations not yet much abated by familiarity. In the high sphere of the ancient virtues no tangible means have to be considered ; penitence, trust, patience, are acts without detailed processes ; owing to this their dignity is always perfect—they develope no commonplace. But this modern progress, on the material side, is full of petty details, sordid, unpicturesque, vulgar. What should be purely shining wonders are dulled by the commonest associations of business ; miracles are performed, not as such, but in the usual way of day labour. The results, it must promptly be admitted, are magnificent, if we only could forget the means, for those always involve manual labours, not without a sort of degradation about them. In a word, the magic of modern science is not perfectly free ; it is part enchantment, and it is also part the old style of hard work ; the best of the marvels have touches of vulgarity. Anæsthetics are a special exemplification of this incongruity. It is not only that the knowledge of these wondrous soothers of pain was not given by supernatural revelation, avowedly for beneficent purposes ; they were discovered on just the same level of chemical research as new modes of bleaching calico, extracting metals, dyeing cloths, their invention being interposed pell-mell among the others. Nor is it merely that we cannot detect any rules of morality underlying the conditions of their use now that we have so oddly got the agencies, no preliminary rites of purification being required either in the applier or the patient, saintliness of character or the most contrary viciousness not affecting their efficacy either way ; but the very materials are profaned by all the ordinary circumstances of trade ; they are quoted in merchants' prices-current along with other goods, dealers in them chaffering over the cost per gallon and per pound weight. Even their cheapness, while they at the same time can only be had at all by buying, gives a final stamp of commonplace ; the imagination requiring that the waters of Lethe, either should be free to be had for nothing, or else that they should not sell at such low rates. But the grotesqueness does not stop here. The modes of their appliance are simply ludicrous. How can the fancy excite in itself any enthusiasm over such objects as a wetted pocket-handkerchief, a flexible tube in connexion with an inflated bag, or a squirt attached to a box, neither pretty nor ugly, but like all other boxes ? A soaked sponge is the best escape yet offered from this unpicturesqueness ! To put this view of the matter into a single expression, if we could find courage to avow it, the very notion of folding oblivion in a handkerchief, or obtaining soothing whiffs of Elysian calm through an india-rubber tube, is absurd. It is of no use pretending to explain this grotesqueness away by moralizing the

unpicturesque features ; it is an inherent characteristic of all this modern mechanical progress ; perhaps anæsthetics bring it out with special vividness, but the fact is, the old style of heroics is wholly out of place with reference to scientific discoveries ; the reason, no doubt, being that the newly-developed intellectual virtues out of which they arise are not yet fully recognised, much less duly appreciated. But underneath these little unintelligibilities of oddity in mode and manner lies the great fact of anæsthetics opening up a possibility of easily, exactly, fully managing bodily agony. For the purposes of this article, we are at liberty to assume a theoretical perfection which is, at present, not reached in practice, but which is most clearly pointed to—namely, that by the progressive multiplication of these agencies, and further improvements in the methods of their application, in the end, there will be anæsthetical resources available for the control of all forms of bodily pain, no matter where situated. This is the surprising consideration which, we say, modifies all previous theories respecting the existence of physical suffering as part of the cosmical plan.

First of all, let us recollect what are the old standard beliefs as to the uses in virtue of which bodily pain was introduced into the scheme of things.

The primary use of physical pain is most obvious,—that of apprising us of injury. Reasoning on the theological method, it was long since assumed that this kind of suffering betokened a physical conscience in the body, protesting against wrong-doing in reference to physiological laws. It was a striking generalization, though a survey of the whole of the facts shows that this bodily conscience, like the moral one, presupposes an intellectual development to perfect it ; its action even now being very uncertain and defective. The frame may, in fact, be ill-used in many ways, and the physical conscience is all too late in commencing its reproaches. In some instances, the nervous symptoms even mislead : pleasure is felt where pain should arise ; in other cases—as, for example, certain poisons—it cannot be said that there are any premonitions at all ; time is not given for them. Sometimes the pain is wholly unintelligible—a mere unlocated uneasiness ; and it scarcely ever operates in the exact ratio of the importance of the injury. A corn on the foot gives more anguish than the beginnings of many fatal diseases. Still, if we have to admit this falling short of perfection, the rough use of pain, in this sense, within certain limits of our ordinary experience, is incontestably clear. We are not exposed to the risk of suddenly impairing, or destroying, the organism without warning given : moreover, speaking generally, the sensitiveness is great where the damage would be serious, while provisions dis-



close themselves, in some classes of exigencies, for lessening the susceptibility when necessity requires that pain shall be customarily braved. Anæsthetics, however, do not touch these primitive phenomena at all—the wound continues to smart, the tooth to ache, the organ to throb *until* the sedative is applied. The primary use of pain is in no way affected by these modern discoveries. But the old belief was, that bodily pain, as well as having this preventive character, had also a punitive aspect. It was hardly possible to escape the idea, since the suffering generally continued *after* the attention had been fully aroused and directed, and the progress of the injury stopped. An impression was, in this way, created that the suffering of pain which resulted from bodily excess was, in fact, a mode of expiation; that it was a balancing of the account, preventing illicit pleasure from being any gain. Here, again, puzzling difficulties arise, so soon as the theory is applied to the facts in detail. No principle of justice can be detected underlying these supposed expiations; there does not appear to be even any attempt at an exact measurement of the suffering which wrong conduct is to entail. A mode, or degree, of excess or neglect that, so far as human observation goes, is more venial than many others, may be far the worse punished; then, in the case of different individuals, the penalty for similar folly, though it is the same in kind, varies immensely in acuteness and pressure; nor does it necessarily bear any ratio to the personal gratification that was enjoyed by the particular sufferer in the commission of the offence. The principle of proportion in reference to the seriousness of the injury caused or risked signally fails—it almost does so ludicrously. Take, for instance, the anguish of corns and toothache; is it not preposterous to ask whether these pains are not altogether in excess of the wrong conduct which is generally identifiable as the cause of them? One is tempted to affirm, that the fine exquisiteness and long persistence of those two torments, hypothetically regarded, constitute them not inadequate reprisals for bad Emperors, who had abused the purple in exhausting all the pleasures of this world. There is, it is true, a refined mode of arguing these cases. It is especially necessary that we should keep in perfect order the means of mastication; acute pain is needed to enforce care, since teeth destroyed are lost for ever, the system not renewing them; and, by a process of reasoning of which Hamlet's speculations on the fate of Cæsar's dust may be taken as the type, dyspepsia, and we know not what other forms of disease, may be traced back to a neglect of the tooth-brush. But without dwelling upon the circumstance that the springing-up of the modern dentist with his artificial teeth, better than some natural ones, does away with half of this reasoning, the fact remains,

that the letting a tooth decay is, in many instances, visited with a manner and continuance of anguish such as would be admitted to be beyond the desert of most capital crimes. It is only explicable on the antique principle, that to infringe virtue in the slightest degree is to expose yourself to the worst—for a peccadillo you must suffer infinitely. However, all this subtlety of speculation vanishes in the face of these accidents of modern chemistry. When the inhaling of a gas, or the scattering of a drachm of fluid, will give a perfect lapse of pain, what becomes of the idea of expiation? Any judicial apportionment of penalties for unlawful joys is impossible alongside this unrestricted retailing of the waters of oblivion over druggists' counters.

But a further use of bodily pain has to be mentioned—that of enforcing carefulness in the future; its remembrance deterring from a repetition of the conduct which causes it. So far as anæsthetics make the continuance of suffering controllable, and facilitate the cure of injuries, their discovery has a bearing upon the purpose of pain in this respect. Some qualifying remarks, however, suggest themselves here. There is a mystery about the way in which the old unmanageable prolongations of agony have failed to prove effective in fully terrifying mankind. It is simply wonderful to see the gay daring with which human beings will face the punishments consequent on disorderly living; returning again and again to snatch the fleeting joys, after experiencing previously close-treading pains that ought to have left them sad and trembling to their lives' end. One would say, speaking abstractedly, that in a world where twinges of gout had once been felt, nothing stronger than toast-and-water would ever again be put upon the tables; but, as a matter of fact, "Comet" port continues to fetch increasingly high prices. A given amount of pleasure always tempts far more than the same amount of suffering deters. That is the standing paradox of morals. On a first impression, it would seem that the way to remedy this would be to increase the penalty out of all proportion. Well, that notion was, at one time of day, made the systematic rule of human legislation, and it turned out quite wrongly. Hanging had not awe enough to keep women from stealing shilling rolls of ribbon. The thought arises, whether the fact may not be, that the penalties of bodily suffering in disease and personal injury have been excessive, and that anæsthetics may really prove to be a serviceable amelioration of physiological jurisprudence, the punishments being made more deterrent by being reduced. What we have described as the paradox of morals is, we think, capable of solution. This loss of ratio in the deterrent efficacy of suffering is explained when we bear in mind that, in the nature of things, there can be no

adequate recollection of pain. It is impossible; for such recollection is in itself a pain from which the mind instinctively shrinks; and the more violent was the agony, the less will the memory consent to recal it—arresting, confusing, and even falsifying the remembrance just so much the earlier. Monstrous reminiscences of uncontrollable hopeless pangs huddle themselves away into ineffective vagueness. A moderate amount of inconvenience, which could be recalled and held in idea, the unpleasantness of the remembrance, though irksome, not being unbearable, is what is needed to furnish a deterring motive; not an immeasurable agony, which, when once it has passed, the imagination refuses to attempt to picture. We are by no means sure that, in very many instances, the recollection of the decently high rate of doctors' fees has not had more to do with enforcing orderliness of life than the remembrance of all the pains of illness; in fact, the gaiety of daring with which men face the return of much of this suffering is non-recollection of it, owing to its excess paralyzing the memory. At any rate, now that anæsthetics have made the old belief in the expiatory purpose of pain wholly untenable, it is impossible to avoid the impression of a certain impracticable inordinateness of suffering in the case of bodily ailments generally. The amounts seem vastly beyond the mere uses of attracting the attention to the progress of injury, and of enforcing the observance of sanitary arrangements, and of proper personal watchfulness over one's limbs. No one, we suppose, has any fear of anodynes and anæsthetics bringing about the other extreme; there is little risk of individuals endangering their frames for the pleasures of easy surgical operations, or of inviting a fever for the sake of the modern treatment of it. It is likely to be some time yet before maiming and disease take rank among the positive pleasures of life. At present, the multiplication of anæsthetics does not even promise to go further than the reducing of pain and privation to what would appear to be more rational amounts. And if the preceding reasoning be correct, the lessening of human suffering to calculable ratios, instead of the present incomprehensible agonies, will increase, rather than impair, the deterrent uses of pain.

The general conclusion, then, to which we come is, that these modern anæsthetical discoveries necessarily do not in any way affect the primary use of pain—that of giving warning of injury; that they altogether destroy the old belief in physical suffering having an expiatory purpose; and that the probability is, they will heighten, instead of lower, the preventive efficacy of pain. But there are two or three further remarks yet to be made. The actual consequence of these inventions is, that the total sum of pain to be experienced by humanity has been immensely reduced

in a purely mechanical way ; the statical conditions of life are greatly modified, and the question remains, what general moral influence is this likely to have ? Does bodily pain create in men any special virtues, which now may suffer declension ? An impression was early produced, that bleak exposure bred in us hardiness ; and it was a mitigating consolation to think so, when the bleakness had necessarily to be borne ; but reasons have arisen for suspecting that this may be a pious misbelief, hardiness being really only another name for cultivated insensibility. Self-sacrifice, it is true, must ever remain the unalterable law of human virtue, but that applies to the voluntary renunciation of immediate pleasure, not the undergoing of superfluous suffering ; and, by a miraculous rule of conversions, the suspense of that renunciation quickly transforms into a fuller gratification. Nothing of this kind characterizes bodily pain. Physical weakness can vary the style of thought, inducing reflection, and it may even find a sort of compensation in the curious joys of convalescence ; but mere agony serves no moral purpose, for at a certain pitch it arrests thought, while the eager instinctive snatch at the gratification of rest in its intromissions, is brutally selfish, and most demoralizing. The very utmost that can be said in acute pain's behalf is, that it gives an opportunity in which endurance can be cultivated. Mere endurance, however, is the very lowest of the virtues ; and even its development presupposes a regulated amount of pain : torments can never breed resignation—they must abate something of their sting before any leisure of patience comes. It is a fallacy of self-will that stubbornness has any high merit ; its best use is to prevent us from suffering something still worse. Most assuredly, bodily pain may lose the barbaric severity that has hitherto attached to it—disease and accident may cease to be the incomprehensible monstrosities of old—without in the slightest degree restricting the range, or lessening the number of human virtues. On the contrary, it will be no small gain, even on the score of an increased freedom of the moral feelings generally, to be cured of the inevitable touch of baseness caused by the experience, and the dread, of unmanageable, excessive corporeal torments. No doubt, the discovery of anæsthetics, like all the other mechanical ameliorations of life constituting modern progress, seems, at first sight, to imply a lowering of the ideal of human character : the belief in expiation gone, and for it substituted an intellectual habit of seeking the evasion of ill-consequences by mere remedies—contrivance more successful than endurance—this does not agree with our antique notions of the heroic. But the principle of stoicism on which those impracticable heroics were framed now stands convicted as a mistake ; a long line of brilliant scientific

successes shows that the true ideal of man is that of him viewed as a contriving, not an enduring creature ; modern experience triumphantly making clear that a removable excess of hardship has been let fall upon him to prompt his intellect to efforts, not solely for the cultivation of the old rustic virtues. This has now become so plain that no one has a serious misgiving as to the meddling with the old amounts and degrees of discomfort, on the score that they were permanently apportioned in reference to a set type of moral character ; and when we shall better recognise and appreciate the new intellectual virtues out of which this modern progress arises, we shall find that the ideal of human character has broadened, but not lowered. It grows increasingly obvious that the problems of human life are partly intellectual in their character, not wholly moral ; admitting, in certain instances and degrees, of what we, for want of a better word, have termed mechanical solutions ; and that the very plan of mundane existence is framed, in its ultimate requirements, on the supposition of the world being inhabited by a creature with intellect fully developed. Very slowly man is realizing this supposition : one great step in this progress undoubtedly being the discovery of anæsthetics, thus giving him due control over bodily pain, enabling him to confine it within serviceable limits ; which hitherto has been very far from being the case.

If it should be asked, why it was that our predecessors were left to the bleakness of unanæsthetical times, and why a fuller chemical sunshine will beam upon our successors than on ourselves, it can only be replied that these are idle questions. Those facts are among the necessary consequences of human life being framed as a historical drama of the whole race, as well as a career for the single individual.



## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

*[Under the above title a limited portion of the Westminster Review is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

### ART. X.—ON THE METHOD OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

THAT there is no other method than the *à priori* available in Political Economy, seems to be held as a matter of unquestioning belief. On all hands the inductive method has been pronounced to be inapplicable to this branch of scientific investigation. Accordingly we find political economists invariably proceed from cause to effect; and as all human action springs from motives of one kind or another, they assume as the cause of economic phenomena such motives only as they suppose influence mankind in relation to wealth. But the difficulty meets us at the outset—How are we to get at the motives except through the phenomena? Motives are multitudinous, variable, and often inscrutable. The individual looking within his own heart finds it difficult to tell the precise motive that influences him in a given course of action;\* and if it be difficult in the case of an individual where his own feelings are alone concerned, the difficulty is immensely increased in the case of an aggregation of individuals existing under conditions different from his own, or of mankind at large. It is clear therefore that if we have first to determine the particular motives that may have produced the phenomena, the inquiry will become a complicated if not an interminable one.

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\* Even metaphysicians fully acknowledge the difficulty. Thus Kant says:—“The depths of the human heart are inscrutable. Who has such an exact knowledge as to be able to say, when he feels the impelling force of duty, that the *mobile* of his will is swayed singly by the naked idea of law, and to declare that other sensitive excitements may not work alongside of it and pollute it—such as by-views of advantage, or of avoiding harm—considerations which on occasions might seem the turn of vice?”—*Metaphysics of Ethics*, p. 255.

The advocates of the *à priori* method fully understand the difficulty here referred to, and boldly and skilfully attempt to meet it. But in doing so they find it necessary to resort to an extraordinary expedient. They assume premises which they do not attempt to prove, and which they scarcely pretend to defend. They adopt the hypothesis that mankind, in relation to wealth, are actuated exclusively by one motive—namely, self-interest, and they make an entire abstraction of every other motive whatsoever. They do not pretend that mankind are not in reality influenced by other motives, but what they maintain is, that it is necessary that all other motives should be ignored. Mr. Mill plainly lays down this position. Political Economy, he tells us—

“Does not treat of the whole of man’s nature as modified by the social state, nor of the whole conduct of man in society. It is concerned with him solely as a being who desires to acquire wealth, and who is capable of judging of the comparative efficiency of means for obtaining that end. It predicts only such of the phenomena of the social state as take place in consequence of the pursuit of wealth. It makes an entire abstraction of every other passion or motive; except those which may be regarded as perpetually antagonizing principles to the desire of wealth, namely—aversion to labour, and desire of the present enjoyment of costly indulgences. These it takes, to a certain extent, into its calculations, because these do not merely, like other desires, occasionally conflict with the pursuit of wealth, but accompany it always as a drag, or impediment, and therefore inseparably mixed up in the consideration of it. Political Economy considers mankind as occupied solely in acquiring and consuming wealth, and aims at showing what is the course of action into which mankind, living in a state of society, would be impelled, if that motive, except in the degree in which it is checked by the two perpetual counter-motives above adverted to, were absolute ruler of all their actions.”\*

For a process of investigation professedly scientific, it must be admitted that this is a very singular and arbitrary one. Even Mr. Mill seems to be conscious that it is so, for he looks about him to see if he can find some analogical support in the method adopted in some other branch of science. The deductive method prevails in geometry, there accordingly he thinks he finds the analogy he is in search of. Geometry, he says, assumes an arbitrary definition of a line. A line it defines to be that which has length without breadth; whereas, he says, we all know that a line has breadth, more or less, according to the manner in which it is drawn.† The definition is not strictly correct, but suffi-

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\* “Essays on some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy,” pp. 137–8. Compare also his later work, “System of Logic,” vol. ii. pp. 484–5.

† Mr. Buckle (“Hist. Civil.,” vol. iii. p. 307) adopts Mr. Mill’s view, and

ciently so for all practical purposes, and is therefore justifiable. In the same way, he maintains, it is justifiable in economic science to assume the exclusive influence of selfish motives. But there is really no analogy between the two cases. In the one case we have simply a definition of a term, and it is quite immaterial whether the definition be strictly accurate or not, so long as the idea conveyed be the correct one. In the other case it is not a definition of a term which is assumed, but an hypothesis which materially affects the whole inquiry. But Mr. Mill seems to be of opinion that there is no other method open to him, for he goes on to say that Political Economy being "an abstract or hypothetical science," we must "necessarily reason from assumptions, not from facts." If it be necessary, however, to resort to an hypothesis at all, it is equally necessary the hypothesis should be a correct one. It is a general principle in philosophical investigation that we should have recourse to an hypothesis only when it contains nothing contradictory to fact, and when it sufficiently explains the phenomena without the aid of any other hypotheses. Now, the hypothesis in question is neither correct in fact, nor does it satisfactorily explain any economic phenomena whatever without the aid of several other hypotheses.

The assumption that mankind, even when regarded as occupied in acquiring and consuming wealth, are influenced solely by considerations of self-interest, is not so manifestly and universally true that it should be received without hesitation. There is a complexity with regard to motives which it entirely overlooks. To make self-interest the sole motive in this department of human action is to exclude morality from the most engrossing sphere of human life. If mankind were absolutely impelled by this one personal motive, there could be no sense of duty, no right and wrong, no virtue, no vice.

A closer investigation will indeed lead to the conclusion that the spirit of the moral law is incompatible with the modern economic doctrine of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. For a scrupulous sense of duty will often compel a man to act contrary to his own personal interests. Such a man will conduct himself in his business relations on the strictest principles of honour and fair dealing. He will refuse to take an advantage when the law may permit it, when by so doing he might prejudice the interests of others. He will not take all he can get, and give as little as he can ; but he will give

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explains that since the invention of the micrometer the faintest line can be accurately measured. But surely if the line can be measured at all, the error can be detected, and the proper allowance made for it.

as much as he can afford, and take only what is fair and equitable. This is not Utopianism, but the true spirit of the moral law.

If, moreover, we consider man in the social state, we shall find that the individual is bound to recognise the interests of others as well as his own. He cannot, even if he would, be guided in his social relations by an exclusive regard for his own interests. In seeking his own advantage he must be careful to do nothing that might in any way be injurious to his neighbour. He must not sell a spurious article for a genuine one, nor a deleterious compound for a wholesome one. He must not use false labels or unjust weights. He must pay what he owes, the precise amount, and at the precise time agreed upon. He must be careful to do nothing that might be offensive to his neighbour, and he is not permitted to tolerate, even on his own property, though not put there by himself, anything that might be a cause of annoyance to any one around him. Economic science recognises the existence of the social state, and the social state pre-supposes the existence of the social virtues—honour, honesty, and a regard for the feelings and rights of others.

So untenable indeed is the hypothesis we are now discussing, that the very writers who have adopted it continually ignore it. They start with a philosophic abstraction of humanity, but they put it aside and accept the concrete man as soon as their premises are stated. They habitually recognise the existence of moral and social obligations, and they constantly speak of mankind as being influenced by other than personal considerations. Mr. Mill,\* for instance, objects to import duties as contrary to universal weal. But what has self-interest to do with universal weal? If self-interest be the correct thing in the individual, it surely cannot be the wrong thing in the nation. The very fact that writers on economic science are under the necessity of going outside their premises, is an admission that these premises are incorrect. But this going outside should in no case be permitted. In investigations of this kind, when the *à priori* method is rigidly insisted on as not only a proper method, but the only method applicable, no matter foreign to the premises, far less what is absolutely repugnant to them and expressly excluded, as is the case in the subject before us, should be imported into the discussion.

But further, the hypothesis in question is not of itself sufficient to explain the phenomena without the aid of other hypotheses. Indeed this hypothesis involves a whole series of hypotheses. Those who adopt it assume not only to have accurately deter-

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\* "Principles of Political Economy," vol. ii. p. 432.

mined the human motive which is at work, but its precise force and direction. And as they must judge of mankind at large by their own individual feelings, they assume that one individual is the exact counterpart of every other individual in age, health, education, knowledge, physical and mental organization; and that one individual thinks and acts, under whatever circumstances, in exactly the same manner as all other individuals whatsoever. Lastly, they assume the existence of a moral code and of the social relations. But even were we to grant all these assumptions, we should still be unable to make any progress towards a satisfactory explanation of economic phenomena. Granted that the class of motives concerned in the acquisition and distribution of wealth are such as described, we can never predicate their precise force or direction. There are degrees of self-interest as there are degrees of vice or of virtue. Man in a purely savage state seldom looks beyond his personal and immediate requirements, which are of the rudest possible description. In a more advanced stage, he cultivates the soil, puts in his seed, and looks forward to the time when he may gather in his harvest; in other words, he makes provision for the future. In a still higher stage, he toils and stints himself half a lifetime in order that he may enjoy a competence during the remaining period of his existence. Again, one man will content himself with the commonest necessities of mere animal existence, and will cease to exert himself when these are attained. Another, with more refined tastes, will struggle on till he has obtained the comforts and luxuries of civilized life; while the selfishness of a third may so nearly approach self-sacrifice that he may spend the best part of his existence in a ceaseless endeavour to provide for the future welfare of his family.

So far indeed are we from being able to predicate the precise force and direction of a motive, that we cannot even predicate the general result. The same motives produce different and even opposite effects on different individuals. The Spartan parent exposed his sickly or deformed child; the Hottentot puts to death his aged parent; but modern civilized communities lavish all their care and affection upon the weak, infirm, or deformed among them, whether old or young. We are not to suppose, however, that modern civilized communities possess a monopoly of natural affection. The Spartan and Hottentot were just as kind and affectionate in their way as we are. The weak or deformed child being ill-adapted to endure the hardships of a military life to which every Spartan had to submit, the parent terminated his misery by exposure; the Hottentot, dreading to leave his aged parent to the chances of a cruel and lingering death by starvation, took his life as we should the life of a valuable dog or a horse



that was suffering from an incurable disease. The motive in each case was the same—namely, a desire to prevent misery ; but the effects produced were widely different. But this is not all. Not only do the same motives influence different individuals differently, but even the same individuals differently. The toys which delight the child, have no charms for the full-grown man ; the sports and pastimes of youth have no attraction for old age. Motives which at one time of life, or under one set of circumstances, are powerful, at another period, or under other circumstances, have no effect whatsoever.

But, say the advocates of this hypothesis, we admit that it is inadequate to explain all the phenomena, but we contend that this difficulty is easily overcome by assuming supplementary hypotheses.

“The conclusions of Economic Science,” says Mr. Mill, “are only true, as the common phrase is, in the abstract, that is, they are only true under certain suppositions in which none but general causes—causes common to the whole class of cases under consideration—are taken into account . . . . So far as it is known, or may be presumed, that the conduct of man in the pursuit of wealth is under the collateral influence of any other of the properties of our nature than the desire of obtaining the greatest quantity of wealth with the least labour and self-denial, the conclusions of Political Economy will so far fail of being applicable to the explanation or prediction of real events, until they are modified by a correct allowance for the degree of influence exercised by the other cause.”\*

Having admitted so much, Mr. Mill ought to have gone further. He should have told us how we are to proceed in making “a correct allowance”—where we are to add, where to subtract, and how much. There are some sciences in which we can calculate, more or less accurately, what allowances to make so as to render the conclusions approximately correct. In astronomy we know what to allow for refraction and parallax, which are known quantities ; in mechanics, less accurately, what to allow for friction, which is an unknown quantity ; but in ethics how are we to proceed ? Every disturbing cause would necessitate the going over the whole ground again from the beginning to the end. The principles obtained from the first hypothesis would require to be corrected by those obtained from the second ; and those obtained from the first and second hypotheses would require to be corrected by those obtained from the third ; and so on *ad infinitum*. Nor is the endless complication in which we should be thus involved the only objection. It should not be forgotten that the character of an action might differ with the

motive. Different hypotheses might lead to different conclusions, and other conclusions instead of harmonizing might neutralize each other. If I am influenced by a benevolent motive, I shall act in one way ; if by a malevolent motive, I shall act in another way ; but if I am influenced by a selfish motive, I shall act in an altogether different way. To correct the original hypothesis by supplementary ones would therefore be impossible.

Indeed no satisfactory result can be obtained in any branch of science by a process of this kind. As well might the student of politics assume as his premises the predominance of the love of liberty in mankind, and from this proceed to lay down the general laws of society, and the most suitable form of government ; and he might hence, by a rigid process of deduction, proceed to demonstrate that the perfection of human government is a Republic. Or he may, with Hobbes, assume that all government is founded on fear, that the dread of each other is the only motive that binds society together, and he may deduce therefrom that the most suitable form of government is an absolute monarchy. Similar hypothetical or abstract systems might be reared on the supposed predominance of the benevolent, destructive, and religious sentiments, and equally satisfactory they would be till brought to the crucial test of experience.

So far we have considered Political Economy only as a mental science, because economists will insist in treating the subject exclusively from a mental point of view. But Political Economy is quite as much a physical science as a mental one. Wealth is a material and tangible object, which is not to be secured by wishing for it, but by acting in strict accordance with the physical conditions of its existence. The production of the simplest commodity involves the operation of numerous laws of matter. There is a perpetual action and reaction going on of mind on matter and matter on mind. An effect which may appear as the result of one cause, may in reality be the result of a whole series of causes. To explain the effect therefore, we must take into account not one, but every cause that might in the remotest degree have had any influence in producing it. It so happens that in Political Economy the effects are more accessible than the causes, and this points to the inductive method as the proper one for an investigation of this kind. Treated by the inductive method Political Economy is a science of the highest practical value ; treated *à priori*, it is not a science at all, but only a scientific artifice, a mere theory of human action in one particular direction, and which has not even the merit of being approximately correct. In the investigation of Political Economy by the inductive method, we may proceed in a threefold manner.

(1) By observation, or the direct examination of phenomena

as they present themselves in nature. All economic phenomena are within the reach of ordinary observation, and require no special knowledge or complicated apparatus, as in chemistry or astronomy, for their perception: under the head of observation is included experience, statistics, and history.

(2) By experiment, or the examination of phenomena as modified by special or artificial circumstances.\* In the physical sciences the subject of investigation is definite and invariable. Atoms of matter, for example, combine in certain definite proportions and in no other. The force of gravitation is an invariable measure—directly as the mass, and inversely as the square of the distance. Not so in the organic sciences however. Here the subject is continually undergoing various changes, and these changes are in their very nature experiments, whether we use them as such or not. As abnormal conditions of animal organism are often of great assistance in elucidating the laws of physiology, and as great political or social revolutions enable us to apprehend more clearly the true conditions of social existence, so do economic changes aid us in discovering the true laws of Political Economy. Mr. Mill, I am aware, maintains that experimentation is inapplicable to economic science.† It is quite true the economist cannot treat society as the chemist would treat matter, nor is it necessary he should do so, as the experiments required are already made to his hand. Thus the changes brought about in seasons of plenty and of scarcity, in periods of prosperity and of adversity, of activity and of stagnation in trade, affect production, prices, wages, and currency in a variety of ways, and are virtually, though not intentionally, experiments of a most important character. But we have direct as well as indirect experiments in Political Economy. What are all changes in Customs and Excise duties, and in the mode of taxation, but so many experiments, more or less successful? What, for instance, was our whole course of legislation on the Corn Laws but a series of experiments?

(3) But there is a third process which Comte considers applicable to Biology and Sociology, and which appears equally suitable to economic science. This is comparison, which consists in the examination of phenomena as modified by the conditions of race, soil, climate, and geographical position. Different peoples have different laws, habits, and customs. The economic conditions of savage life differ from those of civilized nations. The sharp-witted and energetic Greek is capable of organizing the

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\* See some admirable observations on the application of experiments to politics in Sir G. C. Lewis's work "*On Methods of Reasoning in Politics*," vol. i. p. 170.

† "*Essays*," pp. 146-47. Compare "*Logic*," vol. ii. pp. 460-61.

largest commercial and financial enterprises, while the phlegmatic Turk is content if he has enough for bare subsistence, and never appears, even in his own country, as the promoter or manager of any great undertaking. It has long ago been pointed out by Machiavelli and others, and more recently by Rau and De Parieu, that some races have a greater aptitude than others for certain modes of taxation; the Teutonic races, for example, favour taxes on property and income more than the Latin and Slavonic races, who prefer personal taxes. Again, production has a close connexion with the physical peculiarities of a country in soil, climate, and geographical position. When the soil is barren the people are poor; when it is rich they are wealthy. England has always been more wealthy than Scotland, because the soil is richer in the former than in the latter country. And if to a rich soil be added a genial climate and a fine geographical position, affording ample facilities for the exchange of produce, it is evident the advantages will be proportionately increased.

Comparison may also with advantage be made with the inferior creation. A severe winter's frost occurs, and whole species of birds and animals disappear from their usual haunts. Naturalists tell us that all the snipe in Scotland perished in one long winter frost, and have never been plentiful since. Thus also, the death-rate of man is higher in winter than in summer; a severe winter kills off a large proportion of those who are weakened by disease or old age, and famines sometimes decimate whole races. When natural pasture becomes scanty, as in Australia from drought, or in Siberia from cold, the cattle that subsist upon this pasture become weak, and in this state are called upon to undergo much greater exertion to procure food than is required of them when in good condition, and the means of subsistence plentiful. So also are the wages of labour low in winter, when the cost of living is high, and high in summer, when the cost of living is low; in seasons of scarcity wages are almost invariably lower than in seasons of plenty, and labourers are therefore compelled to undergo a much greater amount of fatigue at the very period they are least able to bear it.

By the adoption of such a method of investigation as is here indicated, I believe Political Economy might be established on a much sounder basis than it is at present, and that we should make much more rapid advances in scientific discovery than we have hitherto done. It is true that the inductive method has not found much favour with writers on Political Economy, and that it has never been systematically applied in any treatise on the subject. The chief reason for this disinclination, I apprehend, is to be found in the enormous labour the adoption of this method would entail. Sooner or later, however, this labour will



be undertaken, for it is impossible Political Economy can much longer remain in the backward state it is at present. It is nearly a century since Adam Smith gave to the world his great work, and what progress have we made since then? Can we point to any one great economic truth which he had not discovered? His views on the Division of Labour, on Natural and Market Price, on the Causes which regulate the Rate of Wages, on Taxation, and a score of other subjects, are precisely the views held by economists of the present day. Even our boasted Free Trade doctrines we are everlastingly talking about, because we imagine them to be modern discoveries, what are they but a re-echo of what Adam Smith propounded in his celebrated chapter on Restraints on Importations? How are we to account for the state of stagnation into which the science has fallen after such a noble start? It has indeed been asserted\* that Adam Smith followed the deductive method in the "*Wealth of Nations*," but if so I can only say it was a very different method from what we understand by that term at the present day. Although in common with the whole Scotch school of philosophers, Adam Smith might have been more accustomed to the deductive than the inductive method, yet he carefully avoids the use of the former in the work referred to. He never makes a statement which he does not support by an appeal to facts; and his facts are introduced not in the way of illustration, but in proof of the propositions put forth. This is the true inductive method. Since Adam Smith's time there is but one writer of eminence who has applied the inductive method to the investigation of Economic Science, and that only to a single department of it. Mr. Malthus's essay on the Principles of Population is a striking proof of the adaptation of this method to Political Economy. It is to him we are indebted for the demonstration, if not the discovery, of the two important principles that population invariably increases when the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks;† and that every increase of produce from land is obtained by a more than proportionate increase of labour. Had the same method been followed by the eminent men who, since Mr. Malthus's time, have made Political Economy their especial study, I venture to assert that the result would have been as satisfactory in every department of the science as in the one now referred to.

But we have talked so much about the principles and laws of

\* Buckle's "*Hist. Civil.*," vol. iii. p. 305.

† Although this is generally considered one of Mr. Malthus's discoveries, yet it was really discovered by Adam Smith. See "*Wealth of Nations*," book i. chap. xi. part i.



Political Economy that we have come to think we have really discovered all about them, and have little or nothing to learn. Our mission, we are fain to believe, is that of the propagandist. Instead of setting ourselves earnestly and patiently to investigate principles, we imagine we have only to expound them. We have got so far advanced that it has been recently proposed to make Political Economy a branch of an ordinary school education. Our zeal in this respect would be more commendable were it a little less precipitate. We have a deal to learn before we can set ourselves up as teachers. We have first to ascertain what the laws of Political Economy are, before we attempt to popularize them.

It has been said that in the history of every science there are three periods. There is the preparatory period, when we collect facts; the middle period, when we observe an established order; and the advanced period, when we arrive at the discovery of the higher law, which is the cause of that order. Political Economy has not even arrived at the first or preparatory period yet. We have not yet begun to collect and arrange our facts. Political Economy is in the same state to-day that geology was before the days of Hutton and William Smith, or as the science of language was when comparative philology was unknown, and Hebrew was supposed to be the one primeval language of the human race.

If, however, we are to believe the numerous writers who have treated of this subject, Political Economy is much more than an advanced science. It is an exact science. Its principles are self-evident, like the axioms of geometry; its propositions are as demonstrable as the problems of Euclid. The absurdity of this assumption is manifest to any one who will reflect on the extraordinarily complex character of the phenomena of which the science treats. Political Economy is not, and cannot be, an abstract science. It is a concrete science like physiology, and we can no more treat industrial phenomena in the abstract than we can the phenomena of nutrition, or the functions of the various organs of the human body. But Political Economists have a royal road to the discovery of sciences. They determine beforehand what the laws of the science should be, instead of patiently seeking to ascertain what they are. They can well afford to sneer at empiricism, for are they not prepared with their therapeutics before they have even diagnosed the disease?

After all, it is only superficial thinkers who prate about the exactitude of this science. Those who have studied the subject deeply are much less positive. They can discover so many exceptions to even the most elementary principles when they attempt to apply them to actual circumstances, that they doubt the possi-

bility of ever being able to arrive at any definite or exact knowledge on the subject. Hence, says Mr. Senior, "Political Economy does not deal with facts, but with general tendencies."\* "The doctrines of Political Economy," says Professor Cairnes, "are to be understood as ascertaining not what will take place, but what would or tends to take place."† Nothing could indicate more clearly the backward state of Economic Science than these admissions. To speak of Political Economy as having only to do with general tendencies is to treat it as a very inexact science indeed, to say nothing about its backwardness. A science which deals with general tendencies only is no science at all. Science proper should teach us not what tends to take place, but what has taken and will take place, under given circumstances. General tendencies imply special exceptions; but in no really advanced science are there any exceptions to ascertained laws. As Mr. Mill puts it, there cannot be a law, and at the same time an exception to that law. When we get into the higher regions of law we get beyond the reach of exceptions. A law is one thing, and a general tendency is quite another thing. The earth may be said to have a tendency to fly off at a tangent, but we know that it does not, and we know the force that prevents it. The statement that bodies moving round a centre have a tendency to fly off at a tangent is not, therefore, a scientific explanation of the phenomena. Population may have a tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence, but we know that this tendency is controlled by other forces which scientific investigation has made known to us. The cost of production has a tendency to regulate prices, but no economist would be satisfied with this explanation, as every one knows that so many disturbing causes intervene between the production and sale of a commodity, that it is only in the long run that this tendency is operative, and that practically, prices are determined by the desires and wants of the buyers and sellers. As a science, however, Political Economy has to deal with laws, not tendencies, and what these laws are can only be ascertained by an exhaustive analysis of phenomena.

The charges brought against the science by Comte were not altogether uncalled for. Political Economy exhibits no sign of progressiveness. Instead of discoveries, of which we have had none of any consequence since Adam Smith's time, we have had endless disputation and setting up of dogmas. It was so in Comte's day, and it is so in ours. Whatever progress may have been made in other sciences during the last century, there has

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\* "Political Economy," p. 102.

† P. 46; compare Mr. Mill's "Logic," vol. ii. p. 446.

been none in this. The most elementary principles are still matters of dispute. The doctrine of Free Trade, for instance, which is looked upon as the crowning triumph of Political Economy, is still very far from being universally recognised. Even in England, after twenty years' trial under most favourable circumstances, Free Trade has been put upon its defence.\* We make no progress, and from the very nature of our method of investigation, we can make none. The Political Economist observes phenomena with a foregone conclusion as to their cause. His method, in fact, is the method of the savage. The phenomena of nature, the thunder, the lightning, or the earthquake, strike the savage with awe and wonder; but he only looks within himself for an explanation of these phenomena. To him therefore the forces of nature are only the efforts of beings like himself, great and powerful no doubt, but with good and evil propensities, and subject to every human caprice. Like the Political Economist, he works within the vicious circle of his own feelings, and he cannot comprehend any more than the savage how he can discover the laws which regulate the phenomena which he sees around him. The savage would reduce the Divine mind to the dimensions of the human; the Political Economist would reduce the human mind to the dimensions of his ideal.

Our conclusion is that the inductive method is alone applicable to the investigation of Economic Science, and that we shall never be able to make any solid progress so long as we continue to follow the *à priori* method—a method which has not aided, but clogged and fettered us in the pursuit of truth, and which is utterly alien to the spirit of modern scientific inquiry.

DAVID SYME

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\* See Prof. Bonamy Price's article in the "Contemporary Review" for February last.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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*The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.*

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## THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

**F**RUITFUL as the Oxford High Church movement of thirty years since proved itself in secessions to the Church of Rome—secessions of persons of education, and in some instances of high ability and attainment—it is remarkable that no one great question was in consequence put in issue between the two Churches, so as to be brought at all nearer to settlement than it was before. The several seceders forsook their original communion for its rival on different grounds, which however may be described generally as having been purely personal to themselves. One might be in pursuit of an ideal catholicity, another became entangled in some definition of unity; one might be alarmed at the possibility of there having been a breach at the time of the Reformation in the continuity of the Episcopal Succession in the English Church, another be especially apprehensive lest his own baptism might not have been valid; but in all the cases, and not least in those of persons of some note, might be traced the action of an excessive individualism or self-consciousness on the part of those who passed over. For all required, on the special subject concerning which they felt most interested, a certitude and settlement which is not attainable by any man as to such matters. Nor, with a very few exceptions, do they seem before their secession to have made themselves masters of the controversy between the Churches as a whole. At least this was the case with Mr. Capes, as now candidly confessed to the public in his “Reasons for Returning to the Church of England.”<sup>1</sup> And he now acknowledges, whatever the particular assumption may have been in the case of other seceders, whereon the argumentation rested which to them personally justified their conversion, that there always was an assumption, itself resting on nothing.

“Ingenious and at first sight convincing as are the various theories which I have sketched in the preceding chapter, it appears on examination that they one and all break down when tested by the actual facts of history. They all rest upon a certain assumption concerning God’s dealings with man which has no foundation in reality. They overlook the one great fundamental truth, that we can form no rational anticipations as to what God would be likely to do on any given occasion, except from the study of what he has already done in the past.”—p. 42.

The assumption which originally carried the writer himself over to the Roman Church was this: that God in giving a miraculous Reve-

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<sup>1</sup> “Reasons for Returning to the Church of England.” By the Rev. J. M. Capes, M.A. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.

lation to man must necessarily be supposed to have accompanied it with the provision of an infallible authority to enforce and interpret it. He seems to have been first shaken as to the validity of this assumption by the observation of the vast proportion of human beings who in all ages, and even since the preaching of Christianity, have lived and died without even the most rudimentary conceptions of a Deity. That an Infallible Church should exist, during a small segment of the world's history, which could have exercised no influence whatever upon the larger part of the human race, and which has exercised at any time very little upon the rest, would involve such an astounding inconsistency, imply such a waste of machinery and of force, as to be admissible as a fact only upon the most rigorous historical proof. And there appears to have dawned upon the author, when he had been already about five years in the Roman communion, a suspicion that he and his Catholic teachers had been using such words as "certainty" and "infallibility" in very different senses. For the sound "Catholics" had been claiming for their Church a certainty and infallibility extending even to the historical facts and events of Christianity as they received them, and not only to the interpretation of records, or exposition of doctrine; whereas Mr. Capes had been supposing that—

"The Church was infallibly guided by God in the interpretation of the written and traditional records of Christianity, but that this infallibility rested upon a belief in Christianity itself which was necessarily of the nature of moral and historical evidence."—p. 60.

Hence as the interpretation by the voice of the infallible interpreter concerns a material which rests on probable proof or moral evidence only, the resulting declarations of the Church cannot themselves rise above the moral or probable certitude of their historical basis. There is no doubt that the Roman view was consistent with itself, and that the convert, like many others, had been hasty in joining himself to a communion of which he had not thoroughly mastered the principles. Perhaps this haste is even more conspicuously proved by what the author says on the subject of transubstantiation (pp. 96-103). When the hold of the Church of Rome upon him was already becoming loosened, it seems to have occurred to him that a claim to infallibility must be groundless on the part of a Church which should deliver as truth a doctrine contradictory to reason, and at variance with the evidence of the senses; and such he then found the doctrine of transubstantiation to be. It certainly is surprising that he should previously have taken the plunge of submitting to the Roman Church without informing himself concerning its doctrine on so capital a point. He seems to have discovered only when too late that the argument whereby it is sometimes controversially defended is founded upon a distinction between substance and accident, or attribute, belonging to an unreal and exploded philosophy; but neither the hollowness of that distinction nor the paramount authority of the evidence of the senses occurred to him in time. Mr. Capes is not only a person of superior education, but he must, one should think, have been perfectly acquainted at least with the "*Catechismus Romanus*," wherein the distinction



between the substances and the species or forms of substances in the Eucharist is expressly laid down; the mere knowledge of controversy which must be presumed in a person already ordained in the English Church, must have informed him that the Roman doctrine of the Eucharist requires the supposition that after the consecration of the Elements the substances of flesh and blood are present, but not under the forms which properly belong to them; while the forms proper to bread and wine are there, but without the presence of the substances in which they naturally inhere. It is true, as Mr. Capes says, that until the recent decree the Roman Church had not anywhere in terms laid claim to infallibility on all possible subjects; nor as far as we can fairly judge, was it a Church infallible to that extent which he and other Anglicans when they left their original Communion were in search of. But they required to find, and for a time thought they had found, a Church infallible in all things requisite to salvation, a Church moreover asserting of itself that out of its pale is no salvation—*extra quam nemo salvus esse potest*—a claim as religiously and morally shocking as the claim to infallibility is intellectually absurd. For ourselves we can see but little, if any, difference in the monstrosity of the claim to exclusive salvability and of that to exclusive infallibility; but it is very intelligible how some of those who were not shocked at the claim to an exclusive title to salvation, in which they believed themselves to participate, should have been startled at a doctrine of mere Papal infallibility, a privilege in which personally they could have no share. We must confess that in our judgment the reasons given for returning to active ministration in the Church of England are not by any means logically coherent. They hardly profess to be more than an *apologia*; at the same time, the candour and courage must be admired which have induced the author to communicate to the world so much personal history of a period in his life which must have been so painful and trying to himself.

The work of the Rev. Dr. Jacob on the "Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament"<sup>2</sup> has for its object to direct the attention of English Churchmen, if they would be wise in time, to the really primitive forms of Christian ordinances as they may be gathered from the New Testament itself. The looseness with which the word "primitive" is applied by ecclesiastical writers to the first four centuries of the Christian era has had a very misleading effect upon clerical students. Dr. Jacob effectually pares away the superstitions which have grown over the Christian *cultus* by showing how they have all issued from one root—namely, the assumption on the part of Christian ministers of a supernatural sacerdotal power; and also by submitting to a detailed examination all the passages in the New Testament which have been alleged in support of any of them. He then does not fail to press the argument from the "speaking silence" of the apostolic writers; for it is certainly inconceivable, if episcopal

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<sup>2</sup> "The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament: a Study for the Present Crisis in the Church of England." By the Rev. G. A. Jacob, D.D., late Head-Master of Christ's Hospital. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.

government and succession, priesthood, and priestly absolution, baptismal grace, propitiation in the Eucharist, or even the conveyance in the Eucharist of a supernatural grace, were really elements of Christian truth, that the Apostles should have passed them over without notice. In the course of seven chapters Dr. Jacob reviews the Scriptural and earliest Patristic evidence on the points at issue, and it should especially be pointed out how flimsy many of the superstitious claims which he controverts are made to appear, when as a cool but ripe scholar he examines in the original the Scriptural texts by which it is endeavoured to support them. There are excellent notes, for instance, on "priesthood" and connected terms at p. 106; on "ordain," &c., which in the English version stands for no less than twelve different Greek words (p. 116), on *oikia* and *oikos* at pp. 191-193. The eighth chapter is entitled "Application and Conclusion," wherein the author recognises the fact that the Church of England is from various causes rapidly approaching a position, wherein it would no longer be possible to entitle it the Church of the Nation, or to continue it as a national institution. The causes of this state of things he finds—first, in the unsuitableness of many parts of the present Church system, by reason of its stiffness and inflexibility, to the present state of society and life among us; secondly, in internal dissensions, notwithstanding, and in the face of, a professed uniformity and declared unanimity, which must necessarily not only demoralize the members and ministers of the Church itself, but also undermine public confidence in a Communion which finds itself in so unsatisfactory a condition; thirdly, in the *want of union and consolidation* between the Anglican Church and other Christian bodies, whether Christian Churches in this country, or Churches in other lands. Dr. Jacob deserves very highly of his own Church for opening this part of the subject in the way he has, if yet it may be done in time. For of late there has been heard much of Christian Reunion; but the Reunion in view has been one presupposing an exclusive episcopal theory—a reunion with the Roman and Greek Churches, because of their episcopacy, and notwithstanding doctrines and practices which English people of the Reformation period designated as gross "corruptions:" moreover, there has been no evidence to show that such a reunion could be negotiated at all, much less on an equal footing. On the other hand, Dr. Jacob says—

"A union or close alliance with the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, and with other orthodox Protestant bodies, Episcopal or Presbyterian, on the Continent, and in other parts, would necessarily strengthen our hands as well as theirs, and would greatly further the cause of apostolic Christianity throughout the world. And looking nearer home at the bodies of Christian men in England itself, as sound in the faith as we are, and holding all or almost all the Articles of our Church, but unfortunately separated from us altogether into different sects and denominations, it is impossible to doubt that if they could be united with us in one religious community it would be an immense accession of strength to the Church, comprehending as it would within its borders almost the whole of the nation's religious life."—p. 333.

There is an unfortunate word, "orthodox," in the above quotation which shows that Dr. Jacob has not as yet by any means mastered

the only efficient principle upon which religious association could be based—namely, that Christian communities, instead of inquiring into the more or less of each other's "orthodoxy," should be ready to recognise as Christian Churches all communions which claim that title for themselves. It also seems as if he were suggesting the possibility of forming one religious community out of the various orthodox Christian bodies now existing in the country as sects more or less mutually hostile. But "fusion—confusion." If Dr. Jacob had said that the religious life of the nation would be largely profited by the exhibition of some mutual friendliness and of some Christian courtesies, as in the interchange of pulpits between ministers of different denominations, his sketch of the future would not have appeared altogether so Utopian. On the other hand, he is courageous enough in advocating a revision of the Church of England Liturgy, on the principle of eliminating those portions which countenance a *sacerdotalism* and a *sacramentalism*, for which no authority is to be found in the compass of the New Testament. The whole of his practical application is very sensible and very temperate. There is, however, one point to which we would take the liberty of drawing his attention as a favourer of liturgical reform and ecclesiastical comprehension. There is certainly no authority in the New Testament for incorporating Creeds in public worship, or attaching them to the celebration of the Sacraments. At pages 249, 250, Dr. Jacob acknowledges that there is no apostolic foundation for any of the commonly received creeds; and we believe the first who authorized the recital of a creed in public worship was Peter, surnamed the Fuller, Bishop of Antioch, a Monophysite, in the latter part of the fifth century. The recital of creeds by a mixed congregation forms one of the most repellent features in the public worship of the Church of England, and one to the removal of which those who are still hopeful of a true Reformation of its Formularies would do well to direct their especial attention.

There may be faults or defects in the constitution of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a final Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Causes; and particularly there may be insufficient provision for preserving consistency in consecutive judgments, because each Committee ceases to exist as a Court when its sentence or report to the Crown has been delivered. The number of its constituent members may also sometimes be too large, occasioning, not unfrequently, a garbling, dislocating, and castrating, for the sake of obtaining a general concurrence, of some judgment, which in its original draft was perfectly consistent and effective. There are certainly traces of some such process in the *Essays and Reviews* Judgment, in the *Voysey* and in the *Purchas* Judgments.<sup>3</sup> The halting character of this last judgment in its

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<sup>3</sup> "Secular Judgments in Spiritual Matters: considered in Relation to some Recent Events." By the Rev. Orbey Shipley, M.A. London: Joseph Masters. 1871.

"The Purchas Judgment. A Letter of Acknowledgment to the Right Hon. Sir J. T. Coleridge, one of the Lords of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council." By H. P. Liddon, D.D., D.C.L., Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, and Canon of St. Paul's; together with "A Letter to the Writer." By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Reg. Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ's Church. London: Rivingtons. 1871.

phraseology, with its ungrammatical grammar, have given some occasion to those who dislike the substance of it to impugn its authority. What we mean will be plain by comparing the explanation, as given in the judgment, of the Rubric before the Prayer of Consecration, which it is urged on the side of Mr. Purchas is at variance with the judgment in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*. "Whatever may be the true law of the case, the Judicial Committee would here appear to have given contradictory constructions of a single sentence" (Liddon, p. 9). The issues, however, in the two cases were altogether distinct: in the case of *Mackonochie*, the question was concerning the "posture" of the minister when saying the prayer of consecration; that is, whether he should kneel or stand; in the *Purchas* case it was concerning his "position," whether he should stand in the middle of the table looking Eastward, with his back to the people, or at the North end, where he could be seen by them. It was certainly a loose expression to say, in the former (the *Mackonochie*) Judgment, that the words "standing before the table govern the whole sentence," by which they could only have meant the whole sentence relatively to the question then before them—namely, the question of posture, with which the word "before" has nothing to do. The Committee would have been perfectly clear of inconsistency and perfectly safe if they had stopped at the preceding period—"they entertain no doubt that the priest is intended to continue in one position during the prayer." But with an excessive anxiety, not unfrequently the cause of trouble, to abstain from opening, or even hinting at, questions not then and there before the Court, or in consequence of some chopping and garbling in finally settling the sentence, they allowed to fall out of sight the possibility of another question arising as to which "standing *before*" would not "govern the whole sentence." If they had simply adhered more closely to Wheatly, who used to be considered a good authority in the Church of England, the two judgments might have been so drawn up as to be perfectly coherent, and it is difficult to suppose that the following paragraph was not before the Committee; they only became obscure when they varied from Wheatly—

"If it be asked whether the Priest is to say this prayer standing *before* the Table, or at the *North-end* of it; I answer, at the *North-end* of it: for according to the rules of grammar, the participle *standing* must refer to the verb *ordered*, and not to the verb *say*. So that whilst the Priest is *ordering the Bread and Wine*, he is to stand *before the Table*: but when he says the prayer, he is to stand so as *that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people*, which must be on the *North-side*. For if he stood *before* the Table, his Body would hinder the people from seeing: so that he must not stand there, and consequently he must stand on the *North-side*, there being in our present Rubric no other place mentioned for performing any part of this sacred Office. In the Romish Church indeed they always stand *before* the Altar during the time of Consecration, in order to prevent the people from being eye-witnesses of their operation in working their pretended miracle. . . . For were the people to look on and see what is done at such time, they would be apt to have less esteem of it; and therefore they think it the best way to screen it from their eyes by the intervention of the Priest's body. But our Church enjoins the direct contrary, and that for a direct contrary reason."—*Wheatly on the Common Prayer*. 3rd ed., 1720, p. 294.



The Rev. Stopford Brooke's Volume of Sermons in reference to the Voysey Judgment is a most timely publication,<sup>4</sup> and one for which the liberal members and ministers of the Church of England, or a certain section of them, must be very grateful to him. There has certainly prevailed a general impression that the Committee in this case not only did not make further application of the principles which governed the *Gorham* and the *Essays and Reviews* decisions, but even withdrew to some extent the liberty which had already been conceded. And there was some reason for this impression. The Committee appeared to avail themselves greedily of openings given them by the manner in which Mr. Voysey carried on the controversy; and to lay down definitions as to several doctrines which had not previously been specially defined by authority in the Church of England. The three points to which Mr. Brooke especially directed the attention of his congregation in these discourses, and in respect of which he asserted, or reasserted, the liberty both of the clergy and the laity, were the doctrines of the Atonement and of Original Sin, together with the Liberty of Biblical Criticism. The Committee insisted on a phrase in the second Article of the Church—"to reconcile his Father to us"—which the then Judges had abstained from pressing in Mr. Heath's case; which is supported, in the letter, by a single passage only of St. Paul; and which it is well known is treated by an influential and much respected school as no more than equivalent to "reconcile us to his Father." In the course of his vindication of some such explanation as this of a form of the doctrine of the Atonement which he conceives to be tenable within the formularies of the Church of England, Mr. Brooke distinguishes between the phrases of Christ suffering "for us" and Christ suffering "instead of us;" and he is led in the course of his exposition to put forth the following as a satisfactory explanation of the doctrine of the union of the two natures in one Christ—

"It was then a man that spoke these words? But we are told that He was also Divine, that the Word was incarnate in Jesus. This is the doctrine of the Church of England, and I have often stated my belief in it. But the question at present is, how far, at the time when these words were spoken, had the Divine nature become at one with the human nature of Christ? I would suggest that if God had in all His fulness, at this time, united Himself to Christ, so that the Divine and Human Natures were entirely blended *then* into one Human Divine Person, Christ could neither have suffered nor struggled with evil, nor died, and the whole story becomes fictitious."—p. 32.

And he conceives that "the communication of the Divine Word to the Man Christ Jesus was a gradual communication," that, for instance, the temptation in the wilderness exhibits a crisis in the process whereby the human was becoming perfect and adequate to a full union with the "Word." Mr. Brooke is thus wide apart from the *Θεωρόκος* doctrine, and if we were to describe him in terms of ancient controversy, might be called a Nestorian. The Nestorians, or some of them, held, if we

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<sup>4</sup> "Freedom in the Church of England. Six Sermons suggested by the Voysey Judgment, preached in St. James's Chapel, York Street." By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, Hon. Chaplain to the Queen. London: King and Co. 1871.

[Vol. XCVI. No. CLXXXIX.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XL. No. I. Q



recollect right, three marked stages in the human-divine life of Jesus, which they called "births"—His birth from His mother, His birth from the water of His baptism, and His birth from the grave or resurrection. And according to Mr. Brooke there would not upon the Cross—

"Have been as yet that communication of the Divine Word to Him which would free Him from pain and death, and the struggle of human nature with these things. As a perfectly holy man, but in entire spiritual union with the Divine Word, He would meet the dark power of death upon the cross. When that was overcome by His human will, when in dying he conquered death, then at his Resurrection and Ascension the union of the Divine Word to a perfect human nature would take place, and we should find in Him perfect God and perfect Man."—p. 34.

The school to which we have already referred has clung to a doctrine of the Incarnation as the central fact of Christianity, although leaving in great obscurity what theological definition they would give of it: in the quasi-Nestorian exposition of it presented by Mr. Brooke in this sermon, we seem to have a clearer statement than has been given to the public previously of a definition of the Incarnation, or, more strictly speaking, of the inhumanization of the "Word;" whereby, as Christ, He became the representative of the human race, and by the offering up of the race in His own person "reconciled the Father to us" (p. 39). At any rate it is not in the line of the Arian controversy, but in that of the Nestorian and Eutychian discussions that Mr. Brooke would differ from received doctrines. We do not know how far the congregations which admire his eloquence care for or are capable of following the theological distinctions which he draws. But it is only just to all parties to point out that it is not as a champion of Mr. Voysey, or in the interest of Mr. Voysey's theology, if he may be said to have a theology, that Mr. Brooke has delivered this protest. He would not limit Mr. Voysey's liberty any more than he would limit Mr. Bennett's; but the use he will make of his own is very different from the use which either of those will make of theirs. We cannot follow Mr. Brooke into his discourses on the doctrine of *Original Sin* and the *Liberty of Biblical Criticism*; but as to the supposed effect of the recent judgment in bar of critical discussions of the contents of Scripture, we are inclined to think with Mr. Brooke, that it is not intended to check any criticism, whether of the text, or of the history, or even of the moral and spiritual contents of the Scripture, if conducted in a temperate and scholar-like manner.

The Rev. J. D. La Touche in a brief sermon<sup>5</sup> expresses his sympathy to a great extent with the views of Mr. Voysey, and explains to his parishioners the principle on which he feels it his duty, notwithstanding the apparent bearing of the recent judgment, to retain his office and position. Quoting from the Ordination Service, he lays it down that the primary obligation of the clergyman is to speak the truth, and to

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<sup>5</sup> "The late Decision of the Committee of Privy Council in the Case of the Rev. Charles Voysey, Vicar of Healaugh. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Stokesay, Diocese of Hereford." By the Rev. J. D. La Touche, Vicar. On Sunday, Feb. 19th, 1871. London: Trübner. 1871.

deliver in respect of the Scriptures that only *which he shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved from the same*. Legal limitations of this primary, personal, and ministerial liberty must be enforced by the officers to whom it belongs; he therefore preaches what on due research he believes to be true, and "leaves to his superiors the task, if necessary, of correcting him."

In one of the Discourses of the Bishop of Peterborough to be presently referred to, he says, "the creed of Christendom is nearly all the assertion of facts;" and then he recites the Articles of the so-called Apostles' Creed. This seems to be a very unwise proceeding in the interest of the cause which he has in hand; for if the Creed of Christendom consists in a belief that certain facts occurred, and in doctrines or inferences founded on, or deduced from, those facts, the whole of Christianity will have to stand the test of an evidential discussion. To this kind of evidential discussion the facts of the Bible are submitted by Mr. Lumisden Strange in an elaborate and careful work, entitled "*The Bible: is it the 'Word of God?'*"<sup>6</sup> The Bible consists of facts and doctrine. "The doctrine may be tried by its moral consequences, but the facts must necessarily be established by evidence of their occurrence." It should be observed that such an examination of the evidence as to the occurrence of the facts related in the Bible has a twofold bearing. For if many of the facts related in the Bible, in the highest degree improbable or even incredible in themselves, are found also to be unsupported by such evidence as is required for the establishing of any ordinary event in history, then the general authority of the record in which they are found is most grievously impaired. The tying together of the Bible as a whole is fatal to the claim made for it as a whole to be a supernatural Revelation, or the "Word of God," if in any details its contents are manifestly inconsistent with such a designation; also, if any particular fact be found to be unsupported by evidence, then any particular doctrine which rests upon it is, in the degree wherein it rests upon it, deprived of its support. Thus supposing the Bible to assert the doctrine commonly known as the Divinity of Jesus Christ, if the general authority of the collective Book as the Word of God in the sense of supernatural Revelation is found to be unsustainable, then its assertion in this particular cannot possess any such weight as to command assent of itself: and then, secondly, if the "facts," as they are called, which would be confirmatory of the doctrine, those especially which relate to the manner and circumstances of the Incarnation, are evidentially unsustainable, there will be nothing whatever left on which the doctrine could be supported. The same will apply to the assertions which Jesus is reported to have made concerning Himself: the accuracy of His words as reported is subject to historical investigation; and so are the miracles attributed to Him, which might be appealed to as a guarantee of the absolute truth of the words. In any case there would remain room for discussion as to the sufficiency of this guarantee; but in the event of neither the words themselves, nor the miracles

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<sup>6</sup> "*The Bible: is it the 'Word of God?'*" By Thomas Lumisden Strange late a Judge of the High Court of Madras. London: Trübner. 1871.

which should guarantee their truth, resting upon sufficient historical evidence, this testimony concerning Himself is obviously reduced to nothing. The work of Mr. Strange confines itself to passing in review the whole of the history of the Old and New Testaments, so far as it claims to exhibit a superhuman or divine agency. This includes the miracles and marvels properly so called, and the miraculous history of Jesus Himself. The review of the Biblical history thus carried through is quite distinct from a review of the doctrine as the inner content of the Revelation. It is very necessary that the same process which is gone through in this volume should be frequently repeated until a general conviction is produced—that if the vehicle breaks down, that which it carries must come to the ground. We can recommend the book as a careful, well written, and exhaustive discussion.

Bishops and Dignitaries may reasonably consider themselves called upon to come forward as champions on the side of received beliefs, against what they term Infidelity, whether among the more highly educated, or less educated classes; but they should be very careful as to the arguments which they address in defence of their creeds to any public assembly in the present day. The Lecturers who are put forward by the Christian Evidence Society cannot be said to observe any caution of the kind. The Archbishop of York reproduces the old argument,<sup>7</sup> as Paley adopted it from Derham and Nieuwentyt—that design implies an intelligent designer, unaware that in employing the word design to describe the constitution of the universe he begs the whole question at issue, which is, whether the observed relations between the various parts, organizations, and co-existent things in the universe can only have originated in design, or can provably, that is, evidentially and historically, be traced to it. The issue raised by Dr. Payne Smith, and met by Julian, is thus summarily stated—

“If we may feel morally sure that man would not be left by his Maker without a Revelation to raise him out of his state of misery and vice, we may be doubly sure that he would not be left 4000 years without it, and that the revelation being made, would not after all these centuries be still the heirloom of a small minority of our race. We may be morally sure that the remedy would be wide and universal as the disease; that it would bear upon its face the unmistakeable image and superscription of the Divine sender, that its origin would be no more a matter of doubt ‘than any other of the known works of God’ with which we are familiar.”

The Discourses of the Bishop of Peterborough are not more successful: no doubt they were eloquent and impressive in delivery, but they

<sup>7</sup> “Julian’s Reply to the Archbishop of York. The Lecture of the Most Rev. the Archbishop of York, delivered in connexion with the Christian Evidence Society, at St. George’s Hall, April 25, 1871.” Examined and criticised by Julian.

“Julian’s Reply to the Dean of Canterbury.—Science and Revelation, a Lecture delivered in St. George’s Hall, April 28, 1871, in connexion with the Christian Evidence Society. By the Very Reverend R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.” Critically examined by Julian. London: Trübner and Co. 1871.

“Christianity in relation to Free-thought, Scepticism, and Faith: three Discourses by the Bishop of Peterborough. With Special Replies by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. London: Austin and Co. 1871.

are not logical. The principal fallacy which runs through the Sermons concerns the terms "scepticism" and "infidelity," which the Bishop assumes, without proving it, are wicked, and indeed unnatural—that is to say, when men hesitate concerning, or deny the sufficiency of, the evidence for a supernatural Revelation called the Christian; for faith, says the Bishop, is natural to man, and necessary to him in every stage of life; he should therefore exhibit it in the matter of religion. It is obvious to contend on the other side that the demand made upon faith by the Christian Advocate is far in excess of that which is demanded in the ordinary spheres of reason and action. Mr. Bradlaugh in his replies is sometimes rougher than was needed, but very effective.

Under whatever form or forms it may be anticipated that Christianity shall still hold its own in the civilized world, it will be essential, if it is to do so on any grounds of reason, that the account of its origin should find a seat in the history of humanity as part and parcel of it; the agents in its first propagation must be acknowledged to have been men of like passions with other men. In the degree that the origin of Christianity is presumed to have been exceptional and miraculous, to the same extent will the relations to it of men in the present day be felt to be unreal and illusory. While retaining his hold upon the supernatural origin of the Gospel, Dr. Howson has written a very pleasing volume on the "*Companions of St. Paul.*"<sup>8</sup> His opening paragraph shows the extent to which he will carry a rational historical view of the personal agents in the New Testament drama—we should rather say, the limit beyond which he will not carry it.

"In order to study intelligently the character of any man, it is essential to take into account, not only the distinguishing features of his own mind and disposition, but also the circumstances of every kind by which he was surrounded. These circumstances limit and direct the action of his personality; and they very often make him, in the lapse of time, to be different from what he was at the first. The place where he was born, the scenes that environed his childhood, the occupations in which his faculties have been engaged, all such things have much to do with our estimate of the man himself. And if we suppose that, in late years, he finds a home in a new country, that his health is impaired by climate or other causes, that employments different from the former have begun to occupy his attention, it is evident that the course of his biography must vary accordingly."—pp. 1, 2.

But Dr. Howson does not perceive how entirely this rational view of the only method whereby any man's character, or work, can be intelligently estimated is altogether neutralized and destroyed, if he admits, as in the case of a Paul, a Peter, an Apollos, the presence of a supernatural factor of unknown force and power. Biographical sketches, which would be very interesting and instructive if the movement to which they relate were understood to be comprehended in the natural evolution of religious history, cease to have any meaning

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<sup>8</sup> "*The Companions of St. Paul.*" By John S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.



when the actors are supposed, either constantly or from time to time, to have been impelled, or sustained, by miraculous inspiration.

Veiling the more repulsive features of the Evangelical creed, Dr. C. J. Vaughan, in last year's "Temple Sermons," endeavours to recommend it as the basis of a Christian and unselfish life.<sup>9</sup> In his creed he expressly comprehends not only the doctrines as they are usually set forth by orthodox divines, but also the historical or material facts on which they are founded, or which they seem to imply. And we can quite understand that it is not from a dogmatical disposition, but by reason of the constitution of his own mind, that he "cannot acquiesce in the idealization of Gospel facts;" he "can understand what fact is, and he can understand what thought is"—as if thought were not itself a fact; an event to him is an event, and a doctrine, whether precept or warning, is to him a doctrine; but "an *ideal fact* is neither this nor that, he can make nothing of it" (pp. 114, 115). His process is this: he "settles in his own mind who Christ is; that he is not man only, but God also; and thus all will be clear;" then all the "facts" which would be "difficult," "perplexing," "incredible," taken by themselves, become "intelligible," "probable," at once. And thus, the Ascension, for instance, "becomes a fact—proved like other facts by evidence—but needing no extraordinary evidence above or beyond them." Conscious, however, that that "fact" has far less than ordinary evidence to support it, he fancies he can supply its deficiency by such rhetoric as this—"that there is any grace in any man, that there is one Church planted, or one life changed, or one soul quickened, is evidence, evidence enough, of the Ascension-life of Jesus"—p. 116.

Dr. Vaughan is Protestant in a certain sense; that is to say, he is anti-Sacerdotalist:—

"I will say of Infallibility that instead of being ashamed that we have it not—instead of apologizing for a Reformation which cuts us off from it—instead of seeking substitutes for it in general councils, the four or the seven, in the *consensus* of Catholic antiquity, or the *semper et ubique* of an œcumenical creed—all so many shifts and evasions of an uneasy Anglicanism—we count it the very glory of our Gospel that it neither offers nor sanctions it; that it expressly forbids all such confidences, and makes it treason against Christ and the Spirit so much as to ask for an earthly Rabbi, or to yearn after a human infallibility."—p. 162.

There is no need for a human infallible representative, because God "will reveal himself by a direct personal intuition" to the soul that seeks him; hence no compromise is to be made "with the lying vanities of Sacerdotalism," whether in Italy or England. But the author effectually dethrones Reason, and it is altogether inconsistent in him to speak, as in the former quotation, of external or historical evidence at all. In many of these discourses there is a generous kind of eloquence and force, but of reasoning and logic a deficiency; and yet

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<sup>9</sup> "Half-Hours in the Temple Church." By C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Master of the Temple. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.



such would not have been out of place, considering the congregation to which they were addressed.

"Unity in Variety," by the Rev. G. W. Weldon,<sup>10</sup> is a well meaning attempt to show that variety in religious forms is perfectly consistent with moral unity. The author undertakes to extend the celebrated argument of Bishop Butler in the *Analogy*, or an argument similar to it, to the forms which Christianity assumes. As in the constitution of the natural but not otherwise than divine Order, there is a vast variety of particulars working out a comprehensive Unity, so a like variety of forms of Christian association, Christian devotion, and, even within certain limits, of Christian creed, is perfectly consistent with the divine design in sending the Gospel into the world, and analogous with the divine processes in other realms of the divine government. The purpose of the book is to inculcate the unity of the Christian spirit in the bond of peace. But Mr. Weldon is, perhaps, not aware what a very little way the method of "essentials" which he recommends will carry him, or perhaps he does not dare to contemplate the possibility of a unity of humanity beyond the limits of the Christian essentials as he understands them. The following extract will show the extent of the Church boundaries which he would venture to contemplate—

"The duty devolving upon all Christians in the present distracted state of Christendom, is to do all that in them lies to set aside all mere secular distinctions, and to merge their minor differences into the practical unity of the Church in all *essential* points. All Christians should stand fast in 'the faith which was once delivered to the saints.' That faith is contained in the narrow limits of the New Testament. Any departure from that common creed of Christians, involves separation from the body—the Church. This being the faith which Christ came down from heaven to establish in the world, and which the Holy Ghost inspired the Apostles to speak and write for our instruction, there can be no doubt whatever, that we should value *it* as the greatest treasure which the Church possesses. We should proclaim our esteem and love for it, count *everything but loss* for the excellency of it, and acknowledge all who hold it to be of the One Body with us, regardless of mere outward ceremonies or forms of worship."—pp. 131, 132.

The nineteenth Volume of Messrs. Clark's "Ante-Nicene Christian Library"<sup>11</sup> consists of the writings of Arnobius, translated by Dr. A. H. Bryce and Mr. Hugh Campbell. Arnobius will be found a curious book by the English reader; he will meet therein with a vast amount of detail concerning the heathen mythology, particularly in its Græco-Roman forms, but with very little information respecting early Christianity. Arnobius urges forcibly enough against the heathens the absurdity of their opinions concerning the deities, at least as popularly held and embodied in various worships, but he gives little information

<sup>10</sup> "Unity in Variety: a Series of Arguments based on the Divine Workmanship in our Planet; the Constitution of the Human Mind; and the inspired History of Religion." By George Warburton Weldon, M. A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of St. Saviour's, Upper Chelsea. London: Bell and Daldy. 1871.

<sup>11</sup> "Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325." Edited by the Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and James Donaldson, LL.D. Volumes xix. xx. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1871.

about the Christian belief or *cultus*. His immediate object was to vindicate the Christians from the accusation of having brought down calamities upon the State, which might rather, according to him, have been attributed to the superstitions and corruptions of the Pagans themselves. But he hardly touches on the Christian theology. This work appears to have been written about the year A.D. 300. The twentieth Volume of the series comprises the works of Gregory Thaumaturgos, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Archelaus, translated by the Rev. S. D. F. Salmond. In the former is comprehended a somewhat celebrated creed, said to have been revealed to Gregory in a vision, exhibiting very nearly the Trinitarian dogma, as afterwards defined in the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople: Gregory died A.D. 264; and there are probably many interpolations in the creed handed down as his. In these writings themselves Gregory lays no claim to the wonder-working power afterwards attributed to him, but they give evidence of the extent of growth already in the third century of Christian dogmatism and superstition. There are also here translated four Discourses of Dionysius, three on the Annunciation, and one on the holy Theophany at Christ's Baptism. In these the title of "Mother of God" is already given to Mary, who is declared also to be "ever virgin" (*post partum etiam*), and there is the rudiment of invocation of her. The disputation between Manes and Archelaus (A.D. 278) is the chief source of our knowledge of the doctrines held by, or imputed to, the Manichæans. The disputants on either side often leave their opponents' arguments and objections really unanswered; and Manes omits to press his adversary with the necessary inference, from the supposition of an eternal Hell—that there must be two independent sources of good and of evil. Finally, are given in this volume translations of the Syriac documents concerning Edessa, published by the late Dr. Cureton, translated by the Rev. B. P. Pratten. The tradition concerning the correspondence between Abgar king of Edessa and Jesus Christ will of course strike the general reader unacquainted with Eusebius as very strange; but the greater part of those who are already acquainted with it will marvel at the weakness which led Dr. Cureton to admit the authenticity of a history which moderns had long given up as fabulous, because he found it preserved in a Syriac version.

The greater part of Mr. John Morley's "Critical Miscellanies"<sup>12</sup> has already appeared in the "Fortnightly Review;" but there is an essay now published for the first time in this volume which is also well worthy of perusal, entitled "Some Greek Conceptions of Social Growth." Anything at all deserving the name of Philosophy of Society could not have arisen until modern times, and late in the history of philosophy. Nor did the Greeks even build up a "Science" of Society; as to the Romans, who have been greatly admired for their practical and administrative faculties, and justly so in a certain sense, they never advanced—not even their best thinkers ever advanced, on the subject of human society, beyond the crudest empiricism. Including the Stoical Utopia,

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<sup>12</sup> "Critical Miscellanies." By John Morley. London: Chapman and Hall. 1871.

which was the finest speculative effort of classical antiquity in that direction, we meet with nothing better than a philosophy in the air, or materials for a science ill observed and ill put together. The special subject of Mr. Morley's essay is stated to be, "Some of the Conceptions of Social Progress that were entertained by the Two most Illustrious of Ancient Thinkers." And as is usual when Plato comes under discussion, there ensues, almost necessarily, some confusion between the Platonic method and the Socratic, if not between the Platonic philosophy and the Socratic. Socrates is here praised, as he always is, for having been the first to enunciate that "the proper study of mankind is man." He did something like it, but not at all in the sense in which a Pope, much less a Comte, would have understood the maxim. He turned aside from the study of causes and of divine origins, because he saw the investigation was hopeless, but not because he thought the knowledge of things divine and eternal, if it had been attainable, would have been of less worth than that of things mundane and human. He also took to an investigation of social motives and relations in detail, not so much from a sense of "ought," as we understand it, as from a feeling that such knowledge was very useful in order to get on any how in human society. Thus indirectly as it were, and unintentionally, he originated both the inductive method of inquiry and a particular science—namely, the social science. Mr. Morley appreciates very justly the extreme difficulty, not to say impossibility, of arriving at any satisfactory conclusion as to the extent in which Plato represents accurately the personality, method, convictions, "either of Socrates or of himself;" and he concludes that "in the sphere of political philosophy, at any rate, it is useless to search the Platonic writings for any one coherent, positive, and systematic theory of social movement" (p. 314). Neither Plato nor Aristotle appears to have entertained any conception of what the moderns understand by social progress. The origin of human society is traced back to the family, especially by Aristotle, and with the exception of the one blot concerning slavery, as to which he seems to consider the relation between master and slave as natural as that between parent and child, his account of it is the more consistent of the two. The cohesion of society is demonstrated to be due to community of needs and to diversity of special individual abilities; but both the one and the other of these philosophers soon diverge to the consideration of forms of government and constitutions, with their revolutions. Mr. Morley considers the description of the succession of social states presented in the eighth and ninth books of "Plato's Republic" to have been unsurpassed as a piece of social philosophy until the appearance of Comte's great work; one defect of it is that no indication is given of any means by which the succession of revolutions can be arrested, or the fatal circle of constitutions be broken through. Neither in Plato nor in Aristotle do we observe any prevision of the vast changes in the conditions of humanity, or of the vast development of human capabilities in modern times, and of which the end is not yet reached. The Attic poet seems to have conceived of man, more truly than the philosophers did, as boundless in resources whatever the future might bring—*παντοπόρος, ἄπορος ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔρχεται τὸ μέλλον*:—all which renders it the

more lamentable that whatever other advances we may have made beyond those political speculators, we should still be ringing the changes upon monarchy and absolutism, aristocracy and oligarchy, timocracy and plutocracy, democracy and ochlocracy, as of old.

In his epoch-making work on "Intelligence,"<sup>13</sup> now translated into English, M. Taine undertakes to examine those psychological phenomena or facts, and those only, which, strictly speaking, fall under observation. Thus he applies to mental science the same method which has proved so fruitful in other departments. All science is founded upon observation of particulars and their mutual relations; and this observation must not be interrupted by speculation concerning their causes or concerning entities, which may be imagined, or assumed, to lie beneath them, but of the real existence of which there can be no demonstration. The particular facts, on the observation and analysis of which any science of psychology can be reared, are our cognitions; and we must not assume, nor admit—unless our investigations should necessarily lead us to such conclusions—the existence of any faculty, or power, or any essence, such as is commonly called soul, as the substance out of which our cognitions spring, and to which they properly belong. At first, indeed, it may appear as if "soul" were assumed in the very term itself, "psychological;" but this word is only employed in M. Taine's discussions to designate certain groups of phenomena which are distinguished from certain other groups classified as physiological. Even this distinctive nomenclature will hardly stand its ground in the end—that is to say, that *ψυχή* and *φύσις* do not mutually exclude each other; they are rather different sides of one and the same universe; or if one of them is comprehended in the other, *ψυχή* is comprehended in *φύσις*. Retaining, however, the distinction provisionally between psychology and physiology, our cognitions are psychological facts; they emerge, moreover, in connexion with physiological facts, uniformly and necessarily. The psychological analysis issues in the following results. Our sensations are mental representatives, internal signs of external facts exciting them. Each sensation is to us the *substitute* for some external event, uniformly and consistently, so that we are enabled to adjust ourselves to the world around us. Further, mental *images* are substitutes for sensations, and general names or common nouns are substitutes for images and sensations impossible to experience (pp. 149, 150). Thus ideas, whether more or less abstract, are sensations or images of a certain kind; images are sensations capable of revival; at the foundation of all we find sensation, and here we are at the limits of the mental world (p. 151). It then follows to trace the correspondence or relation between the mental or psychologically observed facts and physiological facts; and M. Taine gives the interesting results of a great number of recent experiments on the brain and other parts of the nervous system, both in man and other animals, showing the intimate and necessary connexion between the parts of that material organization and the mental processes. Thus

<sup>13</sup> "On Intelligence." By H. Taine. Translated from the French by T. D. Haye, and revised by the Author. Part I. London: Reeve and Co. 1871.



if the cerebral lobes are atrophied in man he becomes idiotic ; if they are removed by experiment in other animals mere sensation remains ; but the power of connecting sensations into orderly images is deficient. He exemplifies in the ease of animal instincts—

“A beaver shut up in an enclosure in the Jardin des Plantes, who collects pieces of wood and mortar to make a dam of which he has no need in Paris, and of which he has need in America, is an animal in whom are developed a spontaneous system of images ; so again is a bird which builds its nest in the spring ; at the sight of straw, hair, and wool, the notions of their combination and usage arise in him without preliminary experience, without tentative effort, in a fully constructed order, by an unacquired wisdom. It matters little whether this order be, as with man, the effect of a personal apprenticeship, or, as with the brutes, the play of a hereditary mechanism ; it is invariably an order of representations—that is to say, of grouped images ; and therefore, if the images are destroyed, it is destroyed. This is what happens when the cerebral lobes are cut away. The animal loses all its intelligence.”—p. 167.

The intimate connexion between the mental and physical worlds is generally acknowledged ; but physiologists, on the one hand, infer that “mental events are a function of the nervous centres, just as the secretion of bile is a function of the liver ;” while philosophers maintain that mental events have nothing in common with the molecular movements of the nervous centres. “It is true,” says M. Taine, “that mental events and the molecular movements of the nervous centres are inseparably connected, and yet that as far as our powers of conception go they are irreducible either to the other.” Nevertheless, M. Taine essays a hypothesis that the two classes of phenomena, confessedly so closely connected and interdependent, may be at bottom one and the same event manifested in two different ways, and therefore appearing double and as two different facts. And let it be conceded that all thought, all mental events, are reducible ultimately to sensation, it is quite as conceivable that the molecular changes in the brain and nervous system may depend upon the mental fact, as that this should be the product of the molecular change. In connexion with this hypothesis there are observations in the highest degree deserving of attention concerning occult mental processes, at least concerning processes which leave no record of their having been noted by the consciousness,—but we cannot notice this further at present, nor the examination of the Ego or self, and the connexion between the human personality and the physiological individual in Book iv. ch. iii.

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## POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

**N**ARRATIVES of the siege of Paris as they were written from day to day by the correspondents of English papers will probably be more eagerly devoured at some future day than just at present, when information about the main facts has been pouring in from so many quarters to an almost saturating amount. Mr. Bowles's narra-



tive<sup>1</sup> consists of letters written for the *Morning Post* during the siege, but inasmuch as all his letters did not arrive, and he was fortunate enough to have kept copies of them, the present volume contains some materials not hitherto produced. Certain of the incidents described relative to the state of the public mind in Paris during the siege strangely illustrate later events. Such is the one that about November 19th it was getting to be seriously discussed whether it was absolutely necessary that Paris should be the seat of the French Government; and though the Parisians affected to laugh at it, Mr. Bowles found among the provincials in Paris a strong disposition to support the transfer of the centre of power to Tours or Bourges.

"Paris is revolutionary for revolution's sake, and the provinces are precisely the reverse. There is generally an utter disagreement between them as to the government that is desired or that is in existence; for that kind which Paris most loves, the provinces most fear. If, therefore, it is agreed we are to have permanence founded upon the general consent of the country, we must deprive Paris of that command over the central cluster of power which has hitherto enabled it to give its own government to France. There is much weight in the argument, and we shall hear more of it when a National Assembly shall once more have been brought together."

A curious picture is given of the change of life wrought among the poorer classes by the necessities of the siege, and to which many of the exaggerations of factious action within the last two months have been due. The workman is described as no longer rising early to spend his day in toil. All he had to do was to attend his National Guard drill, to mount his guard twice a week, and to walk about in his uniform. For this he obtained fifteenpence a day, while his wife received from the mairie tenpence a day for herself and fivepence for each of her children. With these sums they were better off in all respects than they ever were in time of peace. "The idle, flashy life which results from this system is quite to the taste of the Parisian workman, but it has developed some of his latent vices to an extraordinary extent." Mr. Bowles prophesied that this "thirty sous" would constitute a formidable difficulty when the war should be over.

A very striking and vehement little work, by M. Michelet, on "France before Europe," brings out some of the aspects of the French situation which recent events have made the most interesting and impressive of all.<sup>2</sup> M. Michelet, writing before the recent sanguinary conflict, says that "A great lesson is taught by this vast shipwreck. The social question must harmonize with the higher, nobler question of freedom, or all will perish alike. Our country itself, preoccupied by the first question and too much absorbed by it, has slipped into the abyss. Our fall was watched. But the more deeply we fell, the more buoyantly France, as she touched the ground with her feet, upbraided herself and again ascends." In this chapter, which is really a very

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<sup>1</sup> "The Defence of Paris; Narrated as it was Seen." By Thomas Gibson Bowles, Special Correspondent of the *Morning Post* in Paris during the Siege. With Illustrations and a Map of Paris. London: Sampson Low and Son.

<sup>2</sup> "France before Europe." By Jules Michelet. Translated from the French. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1871.

pathetic and pungent one, on "Hatred of France," M. Michelet says that France has great aspirations; she wings her flight very high, often so high that a fall is inevitable. She sees a lofty aim, but it is an aim too far removed for the path to it, or for the means to take that path to be accessible. She fails and is discouraged. The world is then pitiless. It was so to Icarus. The wretch who falls must always be stoned. M. Michelet notices that the practical difficulty for France is ever the conciliation of the conservatism of the peasant and the "progress" of the workman. France does not emigrate, and all social questions are agitated at home.

The present moment is one at which the words of so earnest, refined, and thoughtful a Frenchman as M. Ernest Renan, when writing on "Constitutional Monarchy in France," may well enlist the attention of all concerned in the destinies of that great and unhappy country.<sup>3</sup> The essay now published has already appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. It was written before the late war, and the accomplished author could hardly have foreseen how pathetically practical his recommendations would very shortly become. M. Renan's mind is of so peculiar and delicately constituted a type that it would not be fair to impute to him a foresight of the political consequences which many of his positions would really involve. He admires enthusiastically the old dynasty of France, and lavishes language in the praise of its magnificent and incomparable grandeur. But he also believes in the grandeur of the first Revolution, and this obliges him, as he says, to admit the moral claims of the First Empire as being a medium for substantiating the results of the Revolution and breaking the traditions of the monarchy for a great part of a generation. M. Renan warns modern Radicals that they render no Government possible, through their strength and their provocative spirit, though they are not strong enough to establish a government of their own.

A very vigorous French pamphlet, published at Brussels, by le Comte Alfred de la Guéronnière,<sup>4</sup> in the interest of the Orleanist princes, gives a curious exhibition of the prevalent temptation to all leading Frenchmen to regard the distractions and misfortunes of their own country as due to the exclusion from power of the family or persons they particularly favour. In the present pamphlet all parties, except constitutional monarchs of some pretensions or other, come in for their share of abuse, especially the Imperialists and the Communists. The solitary hope for France is to recur to "le Droit." No Bonapartism, no Radicalism; these produce arbitrary rule, mourning, and ruin. The account of "the general view" taken by the author, is undoubtedly gloomy, as it needs must be in order to enforce the need of a constitutional monarch as a *Deus ex machinâ*. "This is what the Commune has done. Could Satan himself have devised a more frightful confusion? If the Commune exist any longer, Paris, with all the

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<sup>3</sup> "Constitutional Monarchy in France." By Ernest Renan. London: Trübner. 1871.

<sup>4</sup> "Place au Droit." Par le Comte Alfred de la Guéronnière. Bruxelles. 1871.

riches of the universe which the mighty city contains, is swallowed up in complete ruin."

It is interesting to be able to place side by side an historical sketch of the state of Prussia<sup>5</sup> during the ten years preceding the first French revolution, and an exhaustive account of the territory and government of North Germany up to the most recent date.<sup>6</sup> The work of Von Ranke's, dwelling as it does on the struggles of Prussia for supremacy, and its relations to Austria on the one side, to France on the other, and to the inferior kingdoms of Germany on all sides, is curiously illustrated by the latest and final achievement of Prussia in her contests with Austria in 1866 and France in 1870. Herr Keller's work on the modern condition, political, physical, commercial, and statistical, of the whole of North Germany, is a most valuable "hand-book," as the author himself calls it, of "the knowledge of the fatherland." It belongs to a class of books which in the comprehensiveness of the topics, the minuteness of the detail, and the thoroughness of the treatment throughout, are almost wholly unknown in this country, except where a benevolent German does the same work for England as is here done for the Fatherland. A tabular account of the navy of North Germany, with the naval stations, tonnage, length and breadth of every ship, is one feature of the book, and which itself affords a specimen of its political utility.

The author of "Friends in Council," has earned his reputation by a calmness in speculation, a temperance in expression, and a certain instinctive justice in dealing with the mixed motives of men in action which almost unfit him for commanding public attention in the very heat and confusion of great national movements. When the gown of the citizen gives way to the uniform of the soldier, the philosopher is equally compelled to give place to the diplomatist or the demagogue. Nevertheless, though the "Conversations on War and General Culture"<sup>7</sup> purport to have owed their origin to the suggestions of actual events in the late war, and therefore are of rather a desultory character, there is much in them which is at once practically sagacious as well as permanently precious. Not to dwell here on the mere literary clothing of the thoughts which these "Conversations" reflect, it is sufficient to bring to the surface some main positions which the author specially insists on. One is, for instance, that the results of war are never, or, at least, hardly ever, what the promoters of war intend or hope for. It is of little use that historians alone should be cognizant of the fact. It should be well known to the million, and among the million to the many statesmen who often act as if they were entirely ignorant of the fact. Another point is, that it should be one of the great efforts of the world to settle, in times of peace, the unsettled questions of diplomacy which are nearly sure at some time or other to lead to war. The

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<sup>5</sup> "Die Deutschen Mächte und der Fürster Bund." Deutsche Geschichte von 1760 bis 1790. Von Leopold von Ranke, Erster Band. Leipzig. 1871.

<sup>6</sup> "Das Deutsche Reich und der Norddeutsche Bund. Von Fr. Eduard Keller. Berlin. 1871.

<sup>7</sup> "Conversations on War and General Culture." By the Author of "Friends in Council." London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1871.

author remarks as to this, that a witty saying is attributed to Lord Palmerston to the effect that, there was only *one* man in Europe who understood the Schleswig-Holstein question, and that *he* did not understand it. The relevancy of this position again to our recent complications with the United States is self-evident. The author again says many wise things as to the restraint of the craving for increased territory, and the making "of the ways of peace more interesting." As to this it is noticed that among the main reasons why British people are averse to war is, that civil life is exceedingly interesting to them, and all the people partake of it. Another point of which much is made in different parts of the book is, that intervention ought to be made early, or not at all. Some very wise and true sayings occur on the existing tendencies to agglomeration of small States into large ones. Mr. Milverton, the interlocutor, who probably sustains most exactly and steadily the opinions of the author himself, says that he does not see the advantage of great States: he does not see the advantage of collecting together all the people that speak the same language into one nationality: he does not believe that collectiveness tends to civilization or to prevent war. It tends to uniformity, whereas he thinks "civilization is promoted by diversity." "I have not seen (he goes on to say) that the greatest things have been done by the largest States. In fact, I think there is a danger of bigness being supposed to be greatness." When it is objected that in the larger State there is a greater choice of fit persons to choose from for purposes of government, it is replied, that not much use is made of this advantage, and that the ministry of the smaller Power, having so much less to attend to, will be able to conduct its affairs better than in the larger State with its slightly superior ministry. The work contains an argument to which recent events of a very afflicting and disastrous nature have given considerable importance, as to the relative value of precious works of art and of human life, so far as this value admits of being estimated. Milverton says—

"I don't care about Art, Science, or Literature when you are considering human suffering. The horror would be quite as great to me if the beleaguered city did not contain one work of Science, Literature, or Art. A human being—any human being—is a far more beautiful production than the finest work of art. Just think for one moment of an agonizing night of suffering passed by one wounded man, left on the field of battle. I declare I would purchase exemption from suffering for that one human being by the destruction of the finest work of art in the world."

Without assenting altogether to this mode of stating the problem, it will be admitted that there has been far too great a lack of this style of approaching it.

In an interesting and learned paper read before the "Juridical Society," Mr. Droop,<sup>8</sup> whose contributions to juridical and political science are familiar to our readers, points out some of the principles of inter-

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<sup>8</sup> "On the Relations between an Invading Army and the Inhabitants, and the Conditions under which Irregular Troops are entitled to the same Treatment as Regular Soldiers." By H. R. Droop. London: Weldy. 1871.



national law and usage, which have derived illustrations from the recent war. He is strongly in favour of payment on the part of invading armies, as well as on that of the government of the invaded country, for the supplies, though he does not think the claim to force the requisitions can be wholly dispensed with. He also resents in the interests of civilized warfare, the arming of detached portions of the population, without distinguishing them by uniform, and giving them formal commissions. The uniform might be dispensed with when the force suddenly raised is very large, so as not to lead to their being confounded with the non-combatant population. As to districts still in possession of the national government, the individual inhabitants have no right to resist the invaders unless authorized by their government to do so, when they will be properly treated as legitimate combatants.

The distinguished faculty possessed by Professor Maine of tracing the early historical development of legal conceptions could scarcely have been turned to more valuable account than in ascertaining the mode in which existing English forms of ownership of land have grown out of very different and far more ancient ones. The importance of Professor Maine's new work on "*Village Communities in the East and West*,"<sup>9</sup> is not, indeed, limited to the way in which the theories announced in "*Ancient Law*" are fully worked out and tested by minute reference to standing facts, but extends to the mode in which the true use of Indian experience is enforced and exemplified, and what may be called the "*philosophy of tradition*," is, for the first time in this country, recognised and sagaciously handled. It is one main purpose of the present work to point out that the village group, which has been shown by abundant recent evidence, especially that collected by Mr. Morier and Von Maurer, to have characterized an important phase in the history of Slavonic, Teutonic, and Indian society, in which last it still survives more unimpaired than elsewhere, is represented in England by the "*manorial group*," and that this last institution has an independent structure quite independent of, though, of course, greatly modified by, the process of feudalization. What Professor Maine styles the "*manorial group*," is a compact and organically complete assemblage occupying a definite area of land. The difference between this and a mere village community, such as has been found to exist in the Teutonic societies, is, that the former is held together by a variety of subordinate relations to a feudal chief, single or corporate—the lord. A group of tenants, autocratically organized and governed, has succeeded a group of households, of which the organization and government were democratic. The new group consists of a number of persons holding land of the lord, by free tenures, and of a number of persons holding land of the lord by tenures capable of being shown to have been in their origin, servile—the authority of the lord being exercised over both classes, through the agency of a peculiar tribunal, the Court Baron. It cannot be doubted that the free tenants of the

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<sup>9</sup> "*Village-Communities in the East and West*." Six Lectures delivered at Oxford. By Henry Sumner Maine. London: John Murray. 1871.



manor corresponded in the main to the free heads of households composing the old village community. This is borne out by facts which can be established, as to the common fields still open, or comparatively lately enclosed. The tenure of a certain number of these fields is freehold; they are parcelled out, or may be shown to have been in the last century parcelled out, among many different owners; they are nearly always distributed into three strips, and some of them are even at this hour cultivated according to methods of tillage which are stamped by their rudeness as coming down from a remote antiquity. They appear to be lands of a class which has never ceased to be free, and they are divided and cultivated exactly as the "arable mark" of a Teutonic township can be inferred by a large induction to have been divided and tilled. Now it is the purpose of Professor Maine's argument to show that this creation of a "manorial group" is not an accident of European or English society, but is an universal necessity at a certain stage in national history.

"A process closely resembling feudalization was at one time at work in India; there are Indian phenomena answering to the phenomena of nascent absolute ownership in England and Europe; but then these Indian phenomena, instead of succeeding one another, are all found existing together at the present moment. The feudalization of India, if so it may be called, was never in fact completed. The characteristic signs of its consummation are wanting. It may be doubted whether in any single instance the whole power of regulating the affairs of the village community had passed to an hereditary official, when the English entered the country; on the other hand, in the enormous majority of examples, there are peculiarities of organization which show that the village group is either unmodified or has not yet nearly passed into the manorial group."

It is scarcely necessary to point the moral of these facts, and the reasoning based upon them. The very feudal institutions, which are the main bulwarks against a general reconstruction of land tenures in favour of the cultivators on the one hand, and the State on the other, are made to bear witness on the opposite side, through their being demonstrated to have been only the scions and products of a system of village communities.

The controversy pending between the Corporation of London, the existing governors of Emanuel Hospital, Westminster, and those who advocate the adoption of the report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, is treated in a short pamphlet at the hands of Professor Sheldon Amos, and calls for the earnest intervention of every one who has any interest in public education, or cares to support the claims of mere public justice. Emanuel Hospital, as Professor Sheldon Amos explains,<sup>10</sup> is a snug and very wealthy little institution in Westminster, in which old people are maintained, and young people are professedly educated. The fact is, that only sixty-four children benefit by the institution, that they are selected by the most pauperizing system of patronage on the part of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and that the education affected to be given is of the slenderest and most worthless

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<sup>10</sup> "Endowed Schools, Emanuel Hospital, and the Corporation of London." By Sheldon Amos, M.A. Printed by Spottiswoode. 1871.

description. The Endowed Schools Commissioners recommend that the school be separated from the hospital or almshouse, and that four such schools be amalgamated, so as to create a great day-school for Westminster, capable of giving a first-class education ultimately to 600 children, and that there be further constituted a boarding-school near London, capable of holding 300 children ; educating thereby 900 in all. The main value of the commissioners' scheme, however, as contrasted with the noxious system now existing, is, that a simple competitive test being applied as the only condition of entrance, the new schools are directly ancillary to the whole system of primary education lately introduced, while by their exhibitions they are enabled to hand over the most promising students to places of still higher education.

It is probable that the second series of Mr. Froude's "Short Studies on Great Subjects" will scarcely exercise over the public mind the sort of fascination exercised by the first.<sup>11</sup> The topics are more modern and have recently been treated by many hands. They are further political rather than, as in the former case, historical and ethical, and on this ground the interest attaching to them is of a more familiar and less romantic kind. Nevertheless, the essays and addresses which compose the present volume bespeak the presence of Mr. Froude's characteristic excellences,—his almost matchless English style, his analytical acuteness, and his grave political earnestness. With all this, there is also present to the full the author's habit of rhetorically abusing a position fairly won, and courting clearness and simplicity at the expense, sometimes, of precious and essential truthfulness. Nothing, for instance, could be more gloomy than Mr. Froude's comments on the use of the term "progress," and on the assertion that this is an "age of progress." He resolves to prove that it is not an age of progress, that what seems to be "progress" is only delusively such, and that the inactivity of modern Liberal Governments implies anarchy and stagnation rather than constitutional and moral development. Mr. Froude is right in pointing to all our social irregularities and commercial dishonesty as grounds for invalidating our claims to occupy any very elevated platform in the ascent of civilization. It is true that the whole nation is very imperfectly civilized, and large portions of it are not civilized at all. But an energetic industrial and commercial life, with all its errors, shortcomings, frauds, and crimes, is real life after all, and is only possible because the nation is healthy and moral at the core. In this way every step in purely economic improvement is a step in real national growth, and is therefore, in every sense, a token of progress. We certainly resent Mr. Froude's exhortation towards precipitating progress by an extension of the "sphere of government" into wholly unsuitable regions. We have always insisted that the duty of Government is to facilitate moral life among the people by removing obstructions to individual freedom and aspiration, and not to hamper that life by marking out the grooves (generally false and vicious) to which the individual citizen must

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<sup>11</sup> "Short Studies on Great Subjects." By James Anthony Froude, M.A. Second Series. London: Longmans. 1871.

confine himself. It is a sure token of progress when a Government is found, as our Government is, it is hoped, finding out what are the class of topics within which it must severely restrain its operations. A valuable article, which originally appeared in this *Review*, on the Eastern Question, forms part of the present series. It was written in the second year after the close of the Crimean War, and during the Indian Mutiny. It affords a comprehensive view of the proper relations of the leading States of Europe towards each other and towards outlying populations. It lays down certain ethical theories as to the morality of confiscating the territory and extorting the allegiance of nations badly governed or hopelessly barbarized. Mr. Froude notes that England, Russia, and America have invariable pursued a like policy of acquisitiveness towards all people in a lower stage of civilization with whom they have come into contact. But through a jealousy of each other, or through a certain needless shame of their own ambitious efforts, they have wasted their energies in territorial rivalries and thereby inflicted the worst evils on their own and all other nations. The remedy, Mr. Froude thinks, is to be sought in an *entente cordiale* between the four great colonizing nations of the world, England, Russia, France, and the United States. In fact, a policy directly the reverse of that which brought about the Crimean War is to be adopted in the future. Turkey is to be sacrificed to Russia, which alone is capable of wisely and humanely governing it, and in return Russia and England are peaceably to divide India between them.

Perhaps of all subjects Political Economy might seem to lend itself less than any other to a purely historical mode of treatment. Some would say that it was too modern to have any history; and others that what history there is is only a list of pitiful failures, crude speculations, and ruinous errors. Dr. Dühring, however, in his "Critical History of National Economy and Socialism"<sup>12</sup> not only shows how eminently the view of the subject gains from an approach on the historical side, but also how long, complex, and interesting the story of the development of the science of Political Economy really is. After pointing out the true relation between economical questions and those concerning the general constitution of society (*socialismus*), and insisting that material relations are the only ones involved, the author investigates successively (1), the period embracing both ancient and modern times anterior to a scientific consideration of the subject; (2) the physiocratic era as illustrated by such men as Quesnay, Turgot, and Hume; (3) the era of the theoretical industrial system in the hands of Adam Smith and J. B. Say; and (4) the era of Malthus and Ricardo. This leads the way to looking abroad on industrial and social theories now or lately prevalent in France, Germany, England, and the United States. It will be seen that the book is one of no ordinary value and interest.

The subject of Pauperism is about as good a one as could well be chosen as the leading topic of a course of lectures to be delivered at

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<sup>12</sup> "Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und der Socialismus." Von Dr. E. Dühring. Berlin. 1871.

a leading University, by its Professor of Political Economy.<sup>13</sup> Most of the great economical problems are involved in the investigation of what conduces to create a pauper class, and what impedes the creation of such a class. Furthermore, there is no fact more concrete and palpable than Pauperism, and therefore none which forces on more peremptorily a consideration of all the theoretical problems which assist in explaining it. Professor Fawcett contrives in the course of his lectures to bring under discussion some of the most momentous questions of modern English politics, such, for example, as general remedies for over-population, national education in its economic aspect, co-operation, the English system of land tenure, and the enclosure of commons. A very interesting part of these lectures is concerned with the history of poor-law legislation in this country from the time of Henry VIII. Professor Fawcett's main lesson on this subject, to which he constantly recurs, is that the system of out-door relief must be more and more abandoned, and the workhouse labour-test more and more stringently insisted on. The system of boarding out pauper children is needlessly objected to on grounds which are good as against their fathers and mothers, but not equally so against the innocent young, who have a claim against the State of the highest kind imaginable.

Any contribution possessing the charms of originality, liveliness, and audacity on such a subject as the relief of the poor, is always welcome. The authoress of "*The Service of the Poor*"<sup>14</sup> has herself done a conspicuous service to that unfortunately large class of the British population, as well as to the rich, by closely grappling with one suggested mode of treating the pauper question, which has of late years, in this country, been becoming more and more popular. A certain flickering hope has been entertained in many quarters, especially in those where real charitable feelings and charitable activity have glowed the most fervently, that in a reconstruction of the old conventual system, on modern and possibly even Protestant principles, might lie the true and effectual remedy of pauperism. The true mode of answering this question and settling the doubt here implied, is that adopted in the work on the "*Service of the Poor*." The sources of the imaginative lingering over lost institutions often lie in history wrongly read, or in conclusions from historical experience wrongly drawn. In the present case it is to the deaconesses of the Primitive Church, the Beguines, the third order of St. Francis, the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, the deaconesses of modern Germany, and the charitable sisterhoods of France, that the wistful gaze of the enthusiast and the charitable aspirant are turned. It is thus a great advantage to have, as here, the actual history, nature, purposes and performances of these several organizations precisely investigated and clearly described. The authoress is not in favour of any such institu-

<sup>13</sup> "*Pauperism: its Causes and Remedies*." By Henry Fawcett, M.A., M.P. London and New York: Macmillan. 1871.

<sup>14</sup> "*The Service of the Poor. Being an Inquiry into the Reasons, for and against, the Establishment of Religious Sisterhoods for Charitable Purposes*." By Caroline Emelia Stephen. London: Macmillan. 1871.



tions as adapted to modern English wants, and points out in a lucid and masterly style how misleading and perilous are the attractions presented to young women by the customary vows of celibacy, poverty, and obedience. It is shown that the danger of an exaggerated theory when embodied in a practical system, does not stop short of falsehood, but tends to produce moral evils which may in some cases assume serious proportions, and which may not be safely disregarded in any case. The organization of visiting societies, and, above all, the proper education of nurses in connexion with our great hospitals, are the only hopeful forms which the kind of activity here contemplated can possibly take.

At the present moment, when every social and political institution is having the strength of its foundations tested, the speculations of audacious innovators such as Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de St. Simon, are assuming a general interest scarcely conceded to them at the time of their first appearance. Mr. Booth's account of Saint Simon, and his doctrines, is a very valuable and deeply interesting book.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the part which will properly attract most attention just now, is that in which he treats of the biographical and philosophical or literary relations of Saint Simon and Auguste Comte. There can be no doubt that the bare skeleton of Comte's system of political philosophy was directly due to the influence of Saint Simon. In numerous works published before Comte separated from Saint Simon, in 1822, and before they united, Saint Simon had announced over and over again, in different forms, and with often violent modifications according to the pressure of casual influences, his main doctrines, which were the importance of the power of scientific prediction; the subordination of the study of organic to that of inorganic bodies; the value of a separation of Church and State; the growing predominance of positive over theological methods of inquiry, and of industrialism over feudalism; and the necessity of a Spiritual Power constructed on a purely scientific basis.

It is interesting to note the gradual spread into new regions of the doctrines of minority representation. Mr. Simon Sterne has written a striking and pungent treatise on the subject, for the purpose of illuminating the American public as to the scheme of Mr. Hare.<sup>16</sup> The argument in favour of having some sort of minority representation has never been put in a more telling and effective form, though, as might be expected, the circumstances supposed, and the evils to be remedied, are American rather than English. The fictitious crisis at Athens, in which an imaginary Cleon advocates majority representation, and an imaginary Thucydides advocates Mr. Hare's scheme or a Greek equivalent for it, is a very sprightly piece of writing indeed, and suffices to put all the reasons in favour of minority representation in as vivid a focus as possible. The author perhaps makes too much

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<sup>15</sup> "Saint Simon and Saint Simonism. A Chapter in the History of Socialism in France." By Arthur John Booth, M.A. London: Longmans. 1871.

<sup>16</sup> "On Representative Government and Personal Representation." By Simon Sterne. Philadelphia. 1871.



of his favourite distinction of the right of the majority being that to decision, but not to sole representation, because this is the real gist of the whole debate—that is, whether or not the majority outside the House ought to have the right of final *decision*, or whether that right should be reserved for the majority inside the House. An excellent and clear exposition is given of Mr. Hare's scheme, and a complete account is furnished of all the schemes which in this and other countries have been suggested as improvements upon it.

We have already had occasion to remark that the recent neutrality of this country in one of the most gigantic European struggles of modern, or indeed of all times, is a sort of invitation or call to Englishmen to bestow an attention, for which they have never had leisure before, on the best modes of regulating warfare and preventing wars. There have been no wars of any magnitude since England was a nation, up to 1866, in which England was not a belligerent. Consequently, her influence has almost invariably been exerted against neutral claims, and in favour of enforcing the extreme rights of belligerents, especially when maritime. A number of causes have now conspired to alter imperceptibly the attitude and sentiment of this country. A symptom of this change of position is supplied by such a work as the able, large-minded, and humane treatise of Mr. Frederic Seebohm, on "*International Reform*."<sup>17</sup> Mr. Seebohm unites the qualifications of what may be called a historical political economist and a moralist. He feels as a generous citizen of the world, but he draws his conclusions from strictly utilitarian premises. Mr. Seebohm's main position is, that whatever may have been the case in former times, England's very existence now depends on the general discouragement and limitation of war. The nations of Europe are becoming more and more dependent on each other, instead of being self-reliant, and England and Holland can be shown to be the most dependent of all. They are dependent not only for luxuries, but even for the means of employment, and the supply of food for their people. It is not possible to conceive of a war of long duration in any quarter of the globe, which would not, by throwing them out of employment, rob thousands of their bread. Mr. Seebohm examines the leading industrial and commercial facts which have characterized the development of each of the European nations, arranging them for this purpose into the three groups of nations in the most dependent stage, to which Holland, Great Britain, Switzerland, and Belgium belong; nations in the self-subsistent stage; and nations in the youthful stages, as the United States and the British Colonies. The result of the argument is to prove that modern modes of warfare are becoming more and more injurious to neutrals, and that they are, at the same time, becoming less and less effective in the hands of belligerents. It is recommended that the actual assent of as many nations as possible should be obtained to the institution of a system of positive international law, carrying with it all the accompaniments of an effective joint sanction,

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<sup>17</sup> "*On International Reform*." By Frederick Seebohm. London: Longmans. 1871.

and a judicial tribunal. 'This is, of course, what every one desires, and it is only to be hoped that the considerations Mr. Seebohm urges may facilitate eventually the steps needful to this arduous consummation.

Mr. Ruskin's *Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain*<sup>18</sup> still continue to pour out a monthly shower of gentle instruction on political economy, morals, history, and politics, for the benefit of all who submit themselves, by applying to "Mr. Allen, of Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent," to the genial influence. In Letter IV. Mr. Ruskin makes almost a pitiful appeal to "beggars, clergymen, workmen, seraphic doctors, Mr. Mill, and Mr. Fawcett," and challenges them, all and singly, to tell him what he is to do with his money. He has seven thousand pounds in the Funds, or "Founded Things," and all he can see of them is a square bit of paper, with some ugly printing on it, and this bit of paper gives him a right to tax his readers every year, and make them pay two hundred pounds out of their wages, which is very pleasant for him; but how long will they be pleased to do so? The Fifth Letter is gloomy, and points out that whereas there are three essential material things: pure air, water, and earth, and three essential immaterial things: admiration, hope, and love, modern political economy is destroying these, one and all.

In no department of social and political action is so sparing an use made of scientific observation and philosophical thought as in that of education. Now one violent and reactionary theory is dominant, now another. Now things are left to mere stagnation or hap-hazard management, now a reckless plunge is made in search of some scheme or other, which, true or false, may, at any rate for a time, appease the public conscience. Such a work, then, Dr. Riecke's "*Doctrine of Education*,"<sup>19</sup> of which a third edition has been now for some months before the world, is a good sample of the class of books now especially wanted. The author considers what education means, and how it is the peculiar property of a human being, as opposed to a brute, to respond to education, and not to mere training only. The faculties are, at first, dormant, or not present, though they admit of being raised to an almost unlimited amount of vitality and capacity. Then a distinction is to be made between the ages of childhood, of boyhood or girlhood, and of youth. The different agencies available for evolving the faculties at their several ages are (1) the family, (2) the State, and (3) such larger and at once more cosmopolitan and spiritual engine, as is represented by the familiar, though vague and much-abused term, "the Church." An historical sketch of education in the past concludes the treatise.

In some interesting lectures on the "*Philosophical and Juridical Principles of Marriage*,"<sup>20</sup> Professor Emile Acolas exhibits a very

<sup>18</sup> "*Fors Clavigera*." *Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain*. By John Ruskin. Letters IV. and V. Sold by G. Allen, Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent.

<sup>19</sup> "*Erziehungslehre*." Von Dr. G. A. Riecke. Stuttgart: Dritte Auflage. 1870.

<sup>20</sup> "*Trois leçons sur les Principes Philosophiques et Juridiques du Mariage*." Par le Professeur Emile Acolas. Berne. 1871.

noble conception of what the marriage state ought to be, and might be, and condemns the existing law of most countries as unduly fettering divorce, and favouring the male sex at the expense of the female, thereby impairing the sense of liberty and of equality which ought to be the main basis of marriage. He cites the language of the "Projected Civil Code" of the Convention, which declared "that the parties should determine freely the conditions of their union; that their rights as to dealing with property were equal; that divorce should be allowable either by consent, or at the wish of one of the parties; and that no stipulation restrictive of divorce should be introduced into the contract." Napoleon by his code undid all this.

We have from the same hand a lecture on the meaning and proper division of "*Droit*."<sup>21</sup> The Professor describes private law as "the expression of the necessary relation between individuals as concerns family and property." This excludes contract, but the whole question of opposing "private" to "public" law is a difficult and very debateable one.

A striking paper by Mr. George Smith, of Leicester, brings to light a number of abuses in the employment of juvenile and female labour in the manufacture of bricks.<sup>22</sup> The evidence is of a high class, resting, among other things, upon personal observation and upon the Report of the Inspectors of Factories. Mr. Smith gives startling illustration of abuses in the direction of (1) extreme earliness of the bondage; (2) general "prematureness" of the bondage; (3) the disproportion of the work to the workers; (4) the long hours; (5) the hard usage; and (6) the immorality. He recommends the absolute prohibition of infant and female labour in brickyards, and that no one should be permitted to work sooner than the twelfth birthday, and only when certified to be able to read, write, and cypher. He further seeks to lessen the hours of labour, to have an official supervision as to the health and treatment of juveniles, and to place all brickyards, tileries, and the like, under an amalgamation of the Factories Act and the Workshops Act. The whole matter is one of serious importance, and will, it is hoped, soon engage the members of Parliament.

We have always much pleasure in calling attention to the liberal and scientific political literature with which re-constituted Italy is now beginning to abound. In the matter of penal discipline, indeed, Italian political writers have generally been ahead of the rest of the world, and the enterprising "*Review of Prison Discipline*,"<sup>23</sup> now published at Florence, and having for its purpose the modification of punishments, and the moral reformation of criminals, is a worthy offspring of the national mind.

In connexion with Italian political literature we have previously had occasion to mention the important and multifarious economical

<sup>21</sup> "*L'idée du Droit*." Par le Professeur Emile Acollas. Paris: 1871.

<sup>22</sup> "*The Cry of the Children from the Brickyards of England. A Statement and Appeal, with Remedy*." By George Smith, Coalville, Leicester. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1871.

<sup>23</sup> "*Rivista di Discipline Carcerarie*." Diretta di Martino Beltrani Scolia. Firenze. 1871.

and social investigations of Professor Alberto Errera.<sup>24</sup> To these must now be added a precise and statistical account, with a view to the reform of Italian prisons, especially those of Venice; and a treatise, illustrated with copious charts and catalogues, on "naval construction," as conducted in the ports of the Italian kingdom. Signor Zanon, Professor of Mercantile Marine in Venice, is a co-operator with Professor Alberto Errera in this last work.<sup>25</sup>

A complete account of the meeting held at the beginning of the present year in New York, to celebrate the completion of Italian Unity,<sup>26</sup> with all the addresses, letters, and comments of the press which illustrated the occasion, affords an opportunity not to be neglected of seeing something of the most attractive and admirable side of American character—the side which disposes American citizens to entertain genuine and intense sympathy "with other nations struggling for their emancipation from unjust and tyrannical rule." The letters forming the copious correspondence on the subject are from many of the most notable men in the United States. Mr. Emerson says that it is a wise political rule for America to abstain from interference with European States, but it is not a wise social rule. The immediate occasion of this outburst of national congratulation was the propagation of the ecclesiastical government at Rome of their opinions and their protests, as though these represented American sentiment; whereupon it was thought desirable to counteract the impressions likely to be produced thereby by a more genuine and spontaneous utterance of the feelings of the American people.

"Hours of Exercise in the Alps"<sup>27</sup> is the title which Professor Tyndall gives to a volume of short papers supplementary to that of his "Fragments." The previous volume contained sketches of his working life, as the second does that of his holiday-making. Mr. Tyndall had originally resolved to confine himself to holiday excursions in his native land, but found the attractions of the Alps too strong for him, and this enthusiastic love for them constitutes the main charm of this book. Included in the volume are reprints by Mr. Vaughan Hawkins and Mr. Philip Gosset, also on Alpine climbing.

Count Henry Russell publishes a pleasant and handy little guide-book to Pau and its environs.<sup>28</sup> It is distributed in the well-known traveller's style, into "excursions only requiring one day" and "excursions requiring two or more days." It is replete with information, which, though rather concrete and detailed for the dweller at home,

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<sup>24</sup> "La Aniforma velle Carceri Italiane et in particolare in quelle della Venezia." Del Prof. Alberto Errera. Venezia. 1871.

<sup>25</sup> "La Industria Navale Studi." Di A. D. Errera et G. Zanon. Venezia. 1871.

<sup>26</sup> "The Unity of Italy. The American celebration of the Unity of Italy at the Academy of Music, New York, January 12th, 1871, with the Addresses, Letters, and Comments of the Press." New York. 1871.

<sup>27</sup> "Hours of Exercise in the Alps." By John Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Longmans. 1871.

<sup>28</sup> "Pau and the Pyrenees." By Count Henry Russell. London: Longmans. 1871.



is vital to the traveller, as that "it is easy to dine at Argele's after the six hours' drive over the Col d'Aubigne from Eaux-Bonnes, so as to meet at Lardès towards 8 P.M. the last train to Pau, arriving there before 10 o'clock. N.B. The price of a carriage with three horses from Eaux-Bonnes to Argele's is thirty-five to forty francs."

Serious discussions on debateable points in the history of the German people such as Von Giesebricht's "*Deutsche Reden*,"<sup>29</sup> are especially interesting just now, when Germany is entering on a new phase of formal unity, and the pretensions of Prussia on the one hand, and the controversy as to the true family relationship of Alsace and Lorraine on the other, have given an unwonted value even to dry antiquarian discussions. Von Giesebricht's treatises are republications of former works, and they spring, he says, from a common love to the North and South of his nation, and from a long-cherished desire to promote national unity. The subjects are such as the development of modern German historical science, the development of national self-consciousness in Germany, and the influence of schools of higher education on national development. In this last essay are contained some interesting investigations as to the rise of some of the universities, as of Göttingen and Halle, and the mutual influence of university life and study in Germany and the busy national spirit on each other.

The travels of an engineer differ from other travels in that they have a purely practical object, and so less suspicion attaches to the traveller's description, that he has been looking at everything merely for the purpose of writing about it. The least amount of suspicion of this kind must attach to the republication of private letters such as form the material of two interesting volumes entitled "*Travels of an Engineer*."<sup>30</sup> The places visited are Africa (that is, North Africa), Asia (that is, Beyrout, Jaffa, and Jerusalem), and the United States. The letters are naturally homelike and colloquial, but pleasantly written, and full of quaint, yet none the less instructive, touches. The author, for instance, describes his sojourning in a farmer's house near Birmingham, and speaks of the family as a cheerful and original set, so entirely different from what they had been wont to figure them on the Continent. When writing from New York, the author describes with almost philosophic accuracy the whole experiences of seasickness, pointing out how the head is laid on the pillow, but owing to the inexorable law that a body at rest or in motion continues so till a new force interferes, as the ship sinks and the pillow sinks with it, the head, which partakes in the motion, desires to continue it in the same direction, but, with the rest of the body, is much discomfited by the change in the direction of the ship's motion.

The late murder of Englishmen in Greece by brigands gave rise to an unhappy incident, which Mr. Noel has thought proper to bring to light for the purpose of effectually clearing away some scandalous imputations cast by the Greek Government on the character of his son,

<sup>29</sup> "*Deutsche Reden*." Von Wilhelm von Giesebricht. Leipzig.

<sup>30</sup> "*Wanderbuch eines Ingenieurs*." In briefen von Max Eyth. Heidelberg. 1871.



who, in the early part of the negotiations with the brigands, rendered important services in endeavouring to conciliate them through<sup>31</sup> the influence he was able to exert upon their relations in his service. Mr. Noel publishes a long and very circumstantial correspondence of the son with the father, from which the reader may make himself perfectly satisfied as to the true ground for the endeavour of the Greek Government recklessly to inculcate an Englishman, and the real nature of the whole transaction.

An important pamphlet on the present condition and prospects of Cuba, by Colonel Juan Manuel Macias,<sup>32</sup> who represents the Republican Government of that island, has the advantage of an introduction by Mr. Chesson, who probably has a more intimate and precise knowledge of the real state of all questions affecting the condition of the negro than any person in this country. Mr. Chesson recapitulates the facts of the Cuban revolution, and condemns the policy of Spain in persisting in her unsuccessful efforts to stamp out what experience has proved to be a national insurrection. The war in Cuba has degenerated into a massacre whereby men, women, and children are given to the sword, and thousands of women and children who have been nursed in luxury are fugitives from their homes, and although half naked and famishing, are glad to find a refuge in the woods, where they are at least safe from brutality and outrage. Colonel Macias' pamphlet, over and above its chief political purpose, is of great general interest, as it contains a precise and statistical account of the area, population, resources, and government of the island, of the organization of the Republic, and of all the circumstances, diplomatic and military, which have characterized the history of the revolution.

It is not often given to a writer to cultivate a gift up to the point of it becoming a speciality, at a distance from its natural subject, and then unexpectedly to have the very topic of all others given him to exercise it upon. But this good fortune has befallen Mr. Kingsley, whose fresh, humorous, kindly interest in men and beasts never flags, whose descriptive power never fails, and who is most happy when he can get away from dull northern skies and revel in the tropical scenery and wild romance of his favourite West Indies. "At Last"<sup>33</sup> is a fitting title for his story of a Christmas spent there, and his readers begin at once to share with him the sigh of satisfaction that after forty years' longing those gorgeous tropical forests are to be really seen by him. And for us, too, they are made almost real. Day after day there is pictured some fresh beauty of landscape, some fresh power in the fertile land, some fresh hope for the coolie settlers. There would seem indeed to be no limit in future for the deft, industrious Hindoos who, their term of coolie-apprenticeship (under a carefully

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<sup>31</sup> "Letters of Mr. Frank Noel respecting the Murder by Brigands of the Captives of Maratta, and his Prosecution by the Greek Government. With an Introduction by his Father." London: Williams and Norgate. 1871.

<sup>32</sup> "Cuba in Revolution. A Statement of Facts." London: Head, Hill and Co. 1871.

<sup>33</sup> "At Last: a Christmas in the West Indies." By Charles Kingsley. Two vols. London: Macmillan and Co. 1871.

guarded immigration system) over, either take patches of land in lieu of their return-passage home, or return with family and friends to carry to a perfection impossible in India that system of "petite culture" which in these islands would seem the quickest road to civilization and wealth. Thus a peasant-proprietor class is rising, and to meet its demands Government is carrying out with a strong hand, and in a spirit of wise concession and compromise, a complete system of education, is rectifying land-tenure, and encouraging settlers. Obcah is yet a thing to be dreaded, both because of its hold on the superstition of the people, and because its priests and priestesses are unscrupulous in the use of strange poisons. Descriptions of visits to the flourishing cacao-plantations; to the forests full of trees priceless for their timber, their gums, or their bark; and to the pitch lake of La Brea; as well as speculations, which are almost certainties, about the ancient geological formations, and the explanation they give of zoological and botanical riddles, will be found profoundly interesting; while Mr. Darwin might gladly have borrowed for his own purpose many suggestive descriptions of birds and beasts, monkeys and men.

In the form of a narrative of missionary life, Mr. Mackenzie, of the London Missionary Society, gives the results of a careful and acute observation of African life in all its varieties between Cape Town and about 23 deg. S.<sup>34</sup> No question of the ethnological and philological affinities of the African tribes with which he came in contact has been without interest to him, and if neither branch of science has received any marked contribution, both find in the Appendix to his volume an admirable popular representation. There is great value also in his chapter on "The contact of Europeans with the natives of Southern Africa," in which he sums up decidedly in favour of an extension of English rule there, to be acquired, in his opinion, through our growing popularity there, and to be justified, if not made almost a duty, by the fact that under English masters, Bushmen, Hottentots, Kaffirs and Bechuanas, one and all, are increasing in numbers and in physical strength. This fact is explained by Mr. Mackenzie to be owing to some degree to their communication and intermarriage with whites, in a greater degree to the fact of their internal wars of extermination being ended in presence of our superior force, and, perhaps, in the greatest degree of all, to their being no longer liable to the famines and diseases of a hunting life, nor to the misgovernment of the Dutch, under whom they were fast dwindling away.

In his account of the "Red River Expedition,"<sup>35</sup> Captain Huyshe desires to rescue from the oblivion into which the continental troubles of the past twelve months have cast it, the bloodless military expedition which the Canadian and Home Governments united to make into the "Far West," to put down a "Provisional Government" set up by a number of French half-breeds, under a banner with the strange

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<sup>34</sup> "Ten Years North of the Orange River: a Story of Every-day Life and Work among the South African Tribes from 1859 to 1869." By John Mackenzie, of the London Missionary Society. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1871.

<sup>35</sup> "The Red River Expedition." By Captain G. L. Huyshe, Rifle Brigade. London: Macmillan and Co. 1871.

device of a combination of Fleur-de-lys and Shamrocks. The Red River settlers,—or, at least, the large proportion of their 1500 souls who were French half-breeds,—were stirred into discontent with the bargain which, without their being consulted, handed them with the rest of the Hudson's Bay Company's property, over to Canada. They were further irritated by the foolish haste of the Canadian Government in sending out surveyors into the settlement and its neighbourhood some months before the date fixed for them to take possession. Captain Huyshe accuses the Roman-Catholic Bishop and priests of being the real instigators of a riot, which assumed a serious aspect chiefly because it arose at so great a distance from the seat of a government which, nevertheless, was sufficiently strong and determined to assert its new authority. The authority was just in the course of being transferred, and Captain Huyshe intimates that the old officials were not sorry that their successors should encounter some difficulties. The self-constituted President was guilty of the cold-blooded murder of one man, shot within Fort Garry, under his auspices. The culprit ran away, and the whole *émeute* was quashed by the arrival of a force of twelve hundred men, after a journey of 600 miles, up 800 feet of river-ascent. The whole enterprise involved a rare amount of personal endurance and enthusiasm, and reflected exceptional credit on the management of its organizers.

In his "Experiences of a Planter in the Jungles of Mysore"<sup>36</sup> Mr. Elliott attributes much of the English indifference or ignorance about Indian affairs to there having been no books written about Indian life by men who, like himself, have lived among the natives "as nearly as possible as neighbours." Civilians, he says, including under that term the law, revenue, and police officials, only see the diseased and abnormal phases of society, and necessarily decry the natives; military men ("drawn from gentlemen's families, and associating entirely with gentlemen, they have naturally high principles") expect too much, and therefore likewise decry the natives; merchants do not speak the languages generally, and are too much occupied in business to be able to understand the native character, and presumedly they would decry the natives if they took the trouble to write about them; the opinion of missionaries is of no value; engineers, railway officials, and contractors have mostly the experience alone of master and servant. As to Mr. Elliott's own class—the coffee-planters of the south, the tea-planters of Assam, Cachar, and Darjeeling, and the indigo-planters of Northern India, "they are for the most part to be classed as simply employers of labour. Hence, with few exceptions, it is to the indigo-planters alone that we have to look for anything approaching to an extensive experience of native character." So Mr. Elliott is, or believes himself to be, in this universal dearth of information, a very valuable contributor to our knowledge of India. He thinks Indian morality quite equal to European morality; the women and children as fortunate as in England; the farmers as remarkable for their readiness to adopt

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<sup>36</sup> "The Experiences of a Planter in the Jungles of Mysore." By Robert H. Elliott. Two vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1871.

new instruments and methods as for their present superiority in both to English farmers; and caste, a most valuable social institution as maintaining novelty. He blames missionaries for directing their efforts chiefly to great centres of population and to education, while he thinks one of the principal hopes for India lies in a universal vernacular education and a growth of vernacular literature. Beyond this he urges the crying need of more direct communication between the Government and the people, who live as though in distinct worlds and know scarcely anything of each other's doings. Cotton-growing in India is gibbeted as an English capitalist's job: while cinchona, cardamom, and sandal-wood planting, would be sources of great wealth. Chapters on the difficulties of coolie management ("ducking" is recommended as a coolie punishment), of English colonization, and on aural acquisition of Indian languages, are interesting and novel.

Dr. Macleod's account of his "Peeps" at India life<sup>37</sup> is a pleasant gossiping *résumé* of the popular impressions of the country such as could be received during a visit of about four months. Sent out by the Church of Scotland to examine the state of its missions there, his experiences were naturally largely modified by the purely religious European society he came in contact with. He shows a desire to take a candid view of all the stock Indian questions, and talks sensibly about the necessity for English education to form a strong link between the higher classes and England. The educated classes will be thus enabled to convey information in the vernacular to the classes below them.

The "Dominion Directory," for 1871, is a colossal, and indeed almost a stupendous work, entirely worthy of the enterprising colonies to which, in their every aspect, it serves as a copious and minute guide.<sup>38</sup> The very classification of the materials is instructive by way of enumerating the resources, varieties of activity and modes of life, by which the existence of a great people is supported. The work is prefaced by a general history of the Canadian Colonies, and a transcript of what is called the "Dominion Act." Every village is there noted with a brief description of its situation, population, product, and modes of communication with other parts of the colony. Thus to take, at the merest random, "Warwick," it appears that "it is a flourishing village, in the township of Warwick, county and district of Arthabaska. It was incorporated in January, 1867. Its trade in lumber and hemlock-bark is very large. Messrs. G. B. Hall and P. Carleton are the proprietors of large flour and salt-mills. Montreal Telegraph Company has an office here. It is a station of the Grand Trunk Railway. Distant from Montreal, 100 miles; from Quebec, 72 miles. Mail daily. Population about 1600." Then there follows a list of all the principal inhabitants. At the end of the almost inter-

<sup>37</sup> *Peeps at the Far East. A Familiar Account of a Visit to India.* By Norman Macleod, D.D., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.

<sup>38</sup> "The Dominion Directory of Canada for 1871." By John Lovell, Montreal.



minable list of towns and villages, comes the list of the clergy and ministers of religion, the Post-office Directory, the Customs' tariff, the rules and recent grants of patents of invention (very interesting and significant), an account of the Militia, public education, public works, and the geological formation of the county generally. The whole concludes with a Classified Business Index.

The "City of London Directory, for 1871,"<sup>39</sup> is a book of the greatest possible utility for men of business, as well as for all who happen, for any purpose, to need exact and concrete information on topics which are a little hid out of sight of every one but a true London citizen. For instance, the volume gives a precise and rather detailed account of every one of the Livery Companies, which is prefaced by noticing the several modes (as by *servitude, patrimony, gift of the City, redemption, or purchase*) in which the freedom of the City can be obtained. The London Newspaper Guide is a curious item, and the different topics and causes advocated afford a curious index of modern social interests. The Street Directory is arranged in a very convenient way, so as to assist the inquirer by a kind of pictorial representation of the position of the houses, the names of residents on one side being severally placed opposite those actually dwelling opposite to them on the other. The Railway Conveyance Guide to depôts of Great Britain is also a most useful feature of the publication. The new Map of the City of London must not be left unnoticed, showing as it does, "every street, alley, lane, or turning."

The completion of the Post Office Directory<sup>40</sup> for South Wales is a matter of congratulation to the editor and the public. Maps of Monmouthshire and South Wales are prefixed, and the most copious information is supplied as to every parish in the district, including the area, rental, rateable value, and population.

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## SCIENCE.

MR. ROLLWYN'S "Astronomy Simplified"<sup>1</sup> does not appear to us to present any special simplification, for if technicalities are omitted so also is the explanation of the phenomena or laws of which they are the expression. The work is, however, a good popular exposition of astronomical facts, and as such may be recommended especially for young readers, who will be likely to be attracted by the exceeding and appropriate brilliancy of its outer coat. The illustra-

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<sup>39</sup> "The City of London Directory for 1871." London: W. H. and L. Collingridge.

<sup>40</sup> "The Post Office Directory of Monmouthshire and the principal Towns and Places in South Wales." Edited by E. R. Kelly, M.A., F.S.S. London: Kelly.

<sup>1</sup> "Astronomy Simplified for General Reading, with Numerous New Explanations and Discoveries in Spectrum Analysis," &c. &c. By J. A. S. Rollwyn. 8vo. London: Tegg. 1870.



tions are numerous, but most of those representing celestial objects are disfigured by the employment of an abominable coloured ground, in three bands (brown, green, and blue), shading one into the other in such a fashion that the sky is more commonly represented by a pea-green tint than by anything else. We would instance especially the frontispiece and the plates of nebulae as rendered quite absurd by the use of these colours.

Mr. Stebbing, in the preface to his "*Essays on Darwinism*,"<sup>2</sup> tells us that these articles have been published by him in the hope that they may be read by some who are deterred from reading Mr. Darwin's own works by an unfounded fear that they are too deep and dry for ordinary perusal, whilst at the same time they grasp at those imperfect details which they can gather from newspaper articles and popular lectures, and think themselves justified in rejecting and often ridiculing the theory of the origin of species by evolution. That such people form a very large class in our present society is a fact patent to every one, and we can only hope that Mr. Stebbing's little volume may help to disabuse their minds with regard to the great question at issue. In his first essay, Mr. Stebbing gives a general exposition of the theory of Natural Selection as laid down by Mr. Darwin, and the others relate to subjects directly or collaterally connected with this theory. Thus we have two papers on the Noachian flood, the universality of which the author denies; articles on instinct and reason, on the lapse of time, on the hypothesis of spontaneous generation, on the imperfection of the Geological Record and on the relationship of human nature and brute nature; the last-mentioned prepared, the author tells us, as a sermon for Trinity Sunday, but, as he adds, "the kindliness of the design was not fully appreciated by those for whose benefit it was intended." The fact that Mr. Stebbing was ready even to preach Darwinism from the pulpit proves him to be thoroughly in earnest in his scientific views, and not very likely to display any narrow-mindedness in treating of those questions in connexion with which science and orthodox Protestantism are supposed to be at variance. With regard to these matters his tone is always moderate, and we may strongly recommend his essays to the perusal of those who share in the widely diffused prejudice as to the antagonism of modern science and religion, as indeed to any one who wishes to gain, with little labour, a true notion of the nature of the Darwinian theory.

Mr. Mungo Ponton's "*The Beginning*" is another of the numerous works which have been called into existence by the Darwinian discussion of the Origin of Species.<sup>3</sup> But Mr. Ponton takes a bolder flight than most of his fellows; and commencing his book with a discussion of the antiquity of matter and the nature of the Deity, he proceeds to develop his views as to the constitution of the material universe, and thus leads gradually by natural transitions to the origin and pheno-

<sup>2</sup> "*Essays on Darwinism.*" By Thomas R. R. Stebbing, M.A. Small 8vo. London: Longmans. 1871.

<sup>3</sup> "*The Beginning: its When and its How.*" By Mungo Ponton, F.R.S.E. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1871.

mena of life. It is impossible in a short notice to give any notion of the course of argument followed by the author in covering so wide a field of discussion, but we may say that on the whole Mr. Ponton's book is well worth perusal, although we think he would have done better had he left more out of consideration the attributes of the Creator, about which it may be said we know absolutely nothing. Life, according to our author, is not a mere affair of the physical forces, but "an energy capable of influencing both the material ultimates and the physical forces," and he regards each living body as consisting of what he calls an "organiser" combined with or permeating the materials of which it is composed. Thus the act of creation consisted in the calling into existence the primary organizers of each series of forms, and this view would of course be equally compatible with Darwinism and with the old notion of specific creation, but the author seems to be more inclined to the latter, although he fairly discusses the theory of organic development. In the second but shorter section of his book Mr. Ponton treats of the so-called Mosaic Cosmogony, which, while evidently himself inclined to accept its divine inspiration, he really brings to a most unorthodox issue. He maintains that the light of the first three days (which he of course regards as periods) could not have been that of the sun, and in support of his belief that the light and heat of these early periods must have been derived from a sort of general undulatory movement, he adduces the existence of the carboniferous flora which he believes gives evidence of the prevalence of an uniform tropical climate from one pole to the other at the time when the coal-measures were deposited. But besides that we have no evidence that a perfectly uniform climate ever did prevail over the whole surface of the earth (for this is by no means necessarily implied by the conditions of the Carboniferous period), it is manifest that the whole of the phenomena of the formation of the carboniferous and earlier sedimentary deposits (not to mention the traces of meteoric phenomena in the shape of fossil rain-drops and ripple-marked sandstones) are sufficient to prove that very nearly the same conditions prevailed at those remote epochs as at the present day. Mr. Ponton's book is illustrated with a number of very beautiful plates representing low forms of life, especially Foraminifera, Polycystina and Diatomaceæ. There is also a plate of Sponge-spicules, and one well representing that most beautiful of all sponges, the *Euplectella*.

Of Dr. Nicholson's "Introductory Text-book of Zoology,"<sup>4</sup> we need only say that it is a useful elementary abridgment of his "Students' Manual," which we noticed in a recent number of this Review. The system followed is the same, and the classification is carried as far as the orders; the illustrations are also for the most part borrowed from the larger work.

Messrs. Groombridge have published a small volume under the title

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<sup>4</sup> "An Introductory Text-Book of Zoology for the Use of Junior Classes." By H. Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., &c. Small 8vo. Edinburgh and London: Blackwoods. 1871.

"Curiosities of Ornithology,"<sup>5</sup> consisting of reprints of coloured plates and articles which have appeared in the "Student and Intellectual Observer." The species selected for notice are the Pinnated Grouse, the Birds of Paradise, the Tragopans, the Blue-cheeked Barbct, the Hornbills, the King Penguin (the generic name of which is misspelt), the Bell-birds, the African Touracoës, and the New Zealand Parrot, representing nine forms in all, of which not more than six can fairly come under the denomination of ornithological curiosities. The articles possess no claim to originality, but the figures, although rather coarse and sometimes stiff, are striking, and generally characteristic. They are specimens of not the highest order of colour-printing.

Our young folks are likely to be well furnished with entomological literature. Dr. Duncan's handsome volume on Metamorphosis is now followed by two other works, one by a veteran author, the other by a lady, who has already given us an excellent little manual of British Spiders. Miss Staveley's "British Insects"<sup>6</sup> contains a general description of the structure and life-history of the animals composing the class Insecta, and an account of the more prominent members of each group inhabiting the British Islands. The classification adopted is unfortunately rather antiquated, being nearly identical with that followed many years ago by Professor Westwood in his "Introduction to the Modern Classification of Insects;" but this is perhaps a minor matter, as all the information on classification is given in so systematic a form, that the beginner who has made his first steps under Miss Staveley's guidance will easily be able to correlate the new ideas acquired in his further progress with those which he has obtained from her pages. The employment of tables summarizing the information given in the text, is a very useful feature in this work. We may add that it is illustrated with sixteen admirably coloured plates by Mr. Robinson, which add greatly both to the attractions and the usefulness of the little volume.

The other entomological work to which we have alluded above, has a more restricted scope—it is a "Natural History of British Butterflies," by Mr. Edward Newman.<sup>7</sup> In this the author gives a general outline of the structure and habits of the Rhopalocera, and then describes and figures the British species of the group, giving full details as to their life-history, and the localities where they are to be found. The classification is rather peculiar, at least in its terms, being founded primarily upon the condition of the pupa, whether suspended, girt, or concealed, and the characters of the larva. Of course the entomological reader knows that this course brings us virtually to the same set of groups as the more usual arrangement, but we think that Mr. Newman is hardly justified in dividing butterflies into natural orders. His book is, however, an excellent guide for the young entomologist in the study

<sup>5</sup> "Curiosities of Ornithology. With beautifully Coloured Illustrations, from Drawings by T. W. Wood and other eminent Artists." 8vo. London: Groombridge and Sons.

<sup>6</sup> "British Insects; a Familiar Description of the Form, Structure, Habits, and Transformations of Insects." By E. F. Staveley. 8vo. London: Reeve. 1871.

<sup>7</sup> "An Illustrated Natural History of British Butterflies." By Edward Newman, F.L.S., &c. 8vo. London: Tweedie. 1871.

of the British Butterflies; the descriptions and accounts of the history of the species are full and carefully prepared, and the illustrations furnish as good representations of the subjects as we can expect from woodcuts. Mr. Newman describes and often figures several varieties of the same species, and this adds greatly to the value of his book for the young student.

Of Major Munn's new edition of Bevan's "*Honey-Bee*"<sup>8</sup> we regret that we cannot speak in favourable terms, although it is evident that he has devoted much labour to the conscientious endeavour to bring his work up to the requirements of modern apiarian science. Unfortunately his notions of composition seem to be rather vague, and in consequence of this defect his treatment of his subject is vexatiously discursive, and his information upon particular points is often so scattered through various chapters, that one hardly knows where to look for it. Major Munn describes at great length the management of the apiary, but unfortunately with a very strong bias in favour of a peculiar form of hive of his own invention; and in his treatment of the natural history of the Bee we find frequent evidences of the imperfect knowledge of entomology possessed by him, which renders his views upon scientific matters rather crude. Nevertheless the numerous observations upon the habits of the Honey-Bee, scattered throughout the work, will render it of value to the student of general entomology. It may be added, that our author does not believe in Siebold's views as to the occurrence of Parthenogenesis in the hive-bee; but we must confess that it requires far stronger arguments than any that he has adduced, to invalidate the conclusions arrived at by the great German zoologist. This volume is illustrated with a considerable number of plates, some of them showing different forms of hives, and other apiarian apparatus, and others containing representations of combs and of the bees, with details of their structure. The plates relating to the natural history of the insect are prepared by the author himself, and printed in colours; they are exceedingly rough, and generally bad, many of the figures being most inaccurate.

"*The Subtropical Garden*" of Mr. W. Robinson,<sup>9</sup> is a continuation of that gentleman's endeavours to introduce something picturesque into our gardens, in place of the stiff patterns composed of masses of similar plants, which have been for some years the rage among gardeners. His object in this volume is to indicate the use that may be made of various half-hardy plants and shrubs in decorating and giving variety to our flower-gardens. It consists of two parts—namely, an introduction, giving general views upon the mode of cultivating and arranging the plants whose employment is advocated by the author; and an account of the different species and varieties of plants which come under the author's definition of subtropical in a horticultural

"*The Honey Bee: its Natural History, Physiology and Management.*" By Edward Bevan, M.D. Revised, Enlarged, and Illustrated by William Augustus Munn. Small 8vo. London: Van Voorst. 1870.

<sup>9</sup> "*The Subtropical Garden; or, Beauty of Form in the Flower Garden.*" By W. Robinson, F.L.S. Small 8vo. London: Murray. 1871.



sense. The book is illustrated with a good many well-executed woodcuts.

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The medical books to which we invite attention this quarter are of unusual interest and importance. Among them, and deserving the first place, especially in a non-professional Review, is Dr. Oldham's elaborate and thoroughly scientific monograph concerning the nature of the cause of "malarial" fevers.<sup>10</sup> Of all diseases in hot climates, these probably are at once the most debilitating, the most extensively operative, and the most permanently injurious. Holders of the empire of India, the English people are deeply concerned in everything which affects the health and welfare of their representatives, whether civil or military, in that country. Now, during the year 1867, which was unusually healthy, "the number of cases of paroxysmal fever alone" occurring in that part of the English army stationed in British India, was "19,375 in a force of 56,896 men; equal to one man in three." This precise and authentic statement will enable the reader to form some idea of the extent to which this pestilence also affects the English members of the Indian civil service, and in fact the whole British community in India. It is remarkable that in some instances one corps of soldiers "has suffered much more severely than another, at the same station, and apparently exposed to the same influences;" and in Scinde, "every officer and every man, of Sir C. Napier's army of 17,000 men, was attacked with fever." No doubt soldiers generally suffer most from "malarial" fevers, and it may be that the foreigner suffers more than the native; but whatever may be the relative proportion of the white race attacked, it is certain that the native population of India suffers enormously from these disorders. "In some districts of Lower Bengal," says Dr. Oldham, "the sickness and mortality from this class of fevers has for some years past been very great, and last year the native population of a great portion of Northern India suffered severely from the same cause." And yet India does not suffer with exceptional severity from this cause: it is more or less operative all over the world, least in the temperate zones, most in the tropics, and is especially prevalent in the tropical parts of Africa and America. Moreover, it is much more deadly than at first sight it seems to be: as Dr. Oldham rightly observes, the deaths reported as occurring from malarious fevers, "bear but a small proportion to those resulting from secondary affections, induced by repeated attacks of these complaints. The number of constitutions irretrievably injured by the same cause can of course never be known." Seeing that these fevers constitute the chief sickness and are the chief source of mortality over a large part of the earth, and that they are among the greatest impediments to the spread of the white race, the questions, what is

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<sup>10</sup> "What is Malaria? And why is it most Intense in Hot Climates? An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the so-called Marsh Poison, with Remarks on the Principles to be observed for the Preservation of Health in Tropical Climates and Malarious Districts." By C. F. Oldham, M.R.C.P.E., Assistant-Surgeon to H.M. Indian Forces, &c. 8vo. London. 1871.



the cause of them? and how may they be prevented? are questions of the very highest importance to mankind generally, and especially to the English people, whose empire reaches through every latitude of the habitable globe. Dr. Oldham's very valuable work is mainly restricted to the inquiry, "What is Malaria?" He gives a sketch of the numerous and conflicting opinions which have been propounded concerning it; he shows that "malarious" fevers occur under widely different conditions in respect to climate, soil, altitude, temperature, amount of vapour in the air, and the presence or absence of decaying vegetable matter; and proves conclusively—*first*, that each of the different theories which have been formed to account for the special group of phenomena observed by the originators of those theories as characteristic of intermittent or remittent fever in the different regions in which the observers severally studied it, is inadequate to account for other phenomena associated with the production of the disease in other regions—that, in fact, each theory, while seemingly true when tested only by the facts the observation of which first gave rise to it, is proved to be false when applied as a means of accounting for the genesis of the disease under widely different conditions; and, *second*, that the doctrine now generally taught and accepted by the profession—viz., that the cause of malarial fever is a poison given off by organic, especially vegetable matter, in a state of decomposition, has no real foundation, and is indeed wholly irreconcilable with a vast array of thoroughly established facts, observed in numerous places notable for the prevalence of the disease. Dr. Oldham's confutation of this doctrine seems to us complete. He who demonstrates the fallacy of a generally accepted belief, especially when that belief shapes and directs human action on a large scale, performs a great public service, and is entitled to the gratitude of his fellow-men (which, however, is seldom manifested during his lifetime); but Dr. Oldham has done more than this: he has adduced a large amount of evidence, the force of which it is difficult to withstand, in order to prove that the very existence of "malaria" is nothing more than a figment of the professional imagination, and that the real cause of intermittent fever is "chill," or in other words, the sudden abstraction of animal heat. The more this interesting and important subject is studied, the more the conviction will spread, we believe, that these words reveal the secret so long sought for, and the knowledge gained within the last five-and-twenty years of the rôle of the nervous system in the production of morbid phenomena will go far to confirm the truth of Dr. Oldham's answer to the question, What is the cause of intermittent fever? and to supply a complete explanation of how that cause operates. He has not concerned himself with this question—the nervous system being scarcely alluded to throughout his volume: whether or not this silence be due to his non-acquaintance with the recent and exceedingly important discoveries in the intensely interesting field of neuro-physiology, or to a determination by Dr. Oldham to ask attention to his conclusions in the simplest possible form, the fact itself will probably prove fortunate for his book, which, presenting his observations and arguments uncomplicated with "new-fangled no-

tions," may therefore be welcome even to professional "conservatives" who are not wholly devoid of mental hospitality, as well as to the so-called "liberals," comprising amongst them those questionable enthusiasts to whom no doctrine, however ancient or generally believed, is sacred, and who, "studious of new things," are reckless disturbers of established ideas and practices. We wish, however, that Dr. Oldham's judicious, or at least fortunate, silence had in one respect been either still more or less complete: he propounds the hypothesis that the effect of continued exposure to a high temperature is "to diminish the heat-generating powers of the system." It may be so, but we should have been glad if he had not weighted his book with this questionable proposition, unless accompanied with satisfactory evidence of its truth: as it now stands it may prove a stumbling-block to both medical conservatives and medical liberals alike.

The learned and elaborate work of Dr. Reich on "*The Causes of Diseases*"<sup>11</sup> has reached a second edition. The book well deserves this mark of appreciation: it is the result of the most comprehensive investigation we are acquainted with into the extremely numerous and various influences which operate as causes of human diseases. No side of human life, and no circumstances likely to produce a morbid effect upon it seem to have been ignored; while the number of authorities whom the writer has consulted and whose opinions he has reported is so great that his book is, in fact, a sort of encyclopædia of medical ideas on the subjects in question. The author's views on the various topics treated are remarkable for their clearness and common sense: his observations on the relations of the sexes, and on the use of nervine stimulants—especially coffee and tea—we strongly commend as deserving serious consideration. The book is well written: the style is clear, unaffected, simple, and vigorous; and, we may add, what will be a comfort to English readers, the German vice of long, involved sentences with parenthesis within parenthesis we have not encountered in any part of Dr. Reich's very instructive and valuable work.

The "*Report on the Health of the British Army in 1869*"<sup>12</sup> has just been issued, and contains a vast amount of authentic information concerning the sanitary condition and circumstances of our soldiers in every part of the empire. Moreover the appendix to the report contains a number of original communications of intrinsic interest to all who concern themselves in sanitary matters, quite independently of their bearing on the well-being of the army; but we have only space here in which to notice the statistical statement by Dr. Graham Balfour, F.R.S., "*On the Operation of the Contagious Diseases Act of 1866.*" The statement refers only to those admissions of soldiers to hospital which were on account of venereal diseases in their first stage;

<sup>11</sup> "*Die Ursachen der Krankheiten, der physischen und moralischen.*" Von Eduard Reich, M.D. Zweite Ausgabe. 8vo. Leipzig. 1871.

<sup>12</sup> "*Army Medical Department Report for the Year 1869. Vol. XI. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.*" London: 1871.

these he has divided into two groups, "Primary Venereal Sores," and "Gonorrhœa." The ratio of admissions to hospital per 1000 of Mean Strength on account of the first named group *at stations under the Act* was 86 in 1867, 70 in 1868, and 61 in 1869; while *at stations not under the Act* the ratio of admissions on account of the same disorder was 106 in 1867, 108 in 1868, and 113 in 1869. The ratio of admissions on account of the second-named group *at stations under the Act* was 131 in 1867, 129 in 1868, and 108 in 1869; while *at stations not under the Act* it was 127 in 1867, 125 in 1868, and 99 in 1869. The advocates of the Contagious Diseases Acts will no doubt hail with great satisfaction the results revealed by these statistics in so far as the first class of disorders is concerned, but what will they say about the second, on account of which the admissions *each year* at the stations *not* under the Act have actually been less numerous than at the stations under the Act? Our own convictions respecting the policy of these acts would not, however, be affected in any way by statistical evidence of their effects on the health of our soldiery; for were those effects all that the military authorities could desire, we should still affirm, as we have already fully shown, that the direct and evident advantages thus obtained were wholly insufficient to compensate for the vast amount of evil which indirectly those acts, if maintained, will inevitably produce.

Twenty years ago it fell to our lot to notice a book with the suggestive title, "The Human Body, and its Connexion with Man;" we say *suggestive* title because the author doubtless intended to convey the idea that the human mind and the human body are separable, the relation of the latter to the former being that of a garment to its wearer or that of a house to its inhabitant. The author of that book, Dr. Wilkinson, is a medical man—a man whom Emerson, at the time he wrote his "English Traits" was looking up to hopefully as the "coming man" of the nineteenth century. Another medical man, Mr. Hinton, published some years ago a book with a similar title, namely, "Man and his Dwelling-place," the purport of this title being the same as that of the work just mentioned. Dr. Wilkinson's book is a very curious exposition of the doctrines of Swedenborg in the guise of a sort of treatise on human physiology; and though Mr. Hinton is not a disciple of Swedenborg, the fundamental idea of his work is the same as that of Dr. Wilkinson's; both authors start with the doctrine of the existence of the soul as an entity which builds up and animates the body, which uses it for a time as an instrument for the accomplishment of its purposes, as well as a terrestrial abode, and at length finally severs itself from it. Mr. Hinton now presents us with his "Thoughts on Health,"<sup>13</sup> and what is the all-pervading idea of them may perhaps best be gathered from the intimation just given concerning his previous book. The eminent Professor De Blainville used to expound to his pupils what he called "l'anatomie transcendente," and we think Mr. Hinton may be aptly designated as one of the chief

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<sup>13</sup> "Thoughts on Health, and some of its Conditions." By James Hinton. London. 1871.

apostles of "transcendental physiology." His "Thoughts" are vigorous, often strikingly original, and his exposition of them is remarkable for its profusion of admirable imagery, its lofty tone and poetic beauty; in fact much of his volume is poetry in prose. If the would-be poets whose shallow effusions we are obliged to catalogue each quarter could possess themselves of Mr. Hinton's originality, depth, and subtlety, combined with his extensive knowledge and delicate, picturesque fancy, they would have little difficulty in achieving the reputation they seek for. Indeed, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Hinton has missed his vocation: either as a poet or as a preacher he would have attained a high position; but though he is versed in the method of scientific investigation and has himself a rich store of scientific information, his mind is essentially unscientific. He strives to soar beyond the limits of the knowable: lacking that intellectual humility which practically recognises the bounds beyond which the human mind cannot reach, he strains his whole nature to get some faint glimpse or intimation of the beyond, and employs all the resources of his fertile fancy and great lingual skill in order to render his vague and mystical conceptions intelligible to his readers. In a work avowedly concerning health he occupies a whole chapter in discussing the nature of Force, and having shown that the various forms of force are essentially but various aspects of one and the same force, he leaves the region of sense and intellect in order to conclude a disquisition really remarkable for its ability, acuteness, and lucidity, with the following mystical rhapsody:

"Physical action, much as it is to us, is nothing in itself. Nothing? Not so. It is a picture, an image of that which is incomparably more. This 'nothingness' rebukes our feeble and too sensuous thought, and bids us raise it to a worthier height. Doubtless there is no action there, where we ascribe it. It refuses to be found, because it ought not to be sought. There is no action in things; there is no power. But not, therefore, is no power revealed by them. Though it lies deeper, it is no less manifest; nor does it need other interpreter than that which it finds within us. The discovery of the unity of force carries with it a conviction that brings harmony to our mental life. The manifold energies of Nature, uniting into one, point to one act as their source and secret. One act, perceived in many forms, in seeming infinite succession because, in truth, a present infinite; this thought, which Nature teaches directly to the heart, she reveals also to the intellect, when it has learnt to penetrate her mask."

And elsewhere he strives to justify this life-absorbing and profitless speculation, as follows:—

"But is it merely to an unfathomable mystery that we are led, when there dawns on us the conviction that there is a deeper existence in Nature than that which we perceive:—a profound Unity unreached by that natural apprehension to which the varying forms are all? Truly the problem appears dark enough; we seem to peer into a gulf, black from mere fathomless vacuity. But it is not so. Gazing into Nature beyond the region to which our sense can carry us, we do not gaze upon vacuity, but on an existence, real, however dimly illuminated."

We have permitted ourselves to say thus much concerning what we regard as Mr. Hinton's fatal weakness, because—though unhappily the tendency of the human mind to occupy itself in imagining and discuss-



ing the nature of so-called "entities," absolutely unknowable, is universally prevalent—we cannot help feeling peculiar regret, when a man of his intellectual acumen and scientific culture allows himself to become the follower of theological phantoms and will-o'-the-wisps, and officiates as the high priest of a delusion which has already seduced, and will yet seduce, hundreds of millions from the solid path of real and beneficent knowledge into the treacherous quagmires of baneful ignorance and superstition. As to the special merits of Mr. Hinton's book, considered as an exposition of the conditions of health, little need be said: the information spread throughout his pages could be compressed into a much smaller space than it now occupies, but there is much "transcendental" interpolation, very skilful and very entertaining in its way, though very little to the purpose—how to secure and preserve health. Mr. Hinton occupies several pages in showing how excellent is chemical affinity as a minister to human need—"A body constructed out of elements thus endowed, is evidently suited to become the organ of a being with wants and desires such as man's." While dwelling on this subject, the allurements of chemical processes makes him almost forget, on one occasion, his cardinal doctrine—which, however, he hastens to recall; he says,—"*The flame is a permanent condition of continually changing materials. In this it is wonderfully like ourselves—I mean the bodies in which we dwell.*" Concerning the brain he discourses in the following style:—

"In the grey matter of the brain we are arrived at the very highest organic structure, the great achievement of the vital force, the texture in which bodily life culminates, and for the sake of which, we might almost say, all the other organs exist. And we find a structure of the very lowest form. Mere cells and granules—Nature's first and roughest work, her very starting-point in the organic kingdom—strewn in a mere mass with no appreciable order over the ends of a multitude of fibres, and loosely folded up, as it seems, for convenient stowage! This is what meets the eye. Is this the laboratory of reason; the birthplace of thought; the home of genius and imagination; the palace of the soul? Nay, is this even the source and spring of bodily order; the seat of government and control for the disorderly rabble of the muscles? Should we not have expected, when we came thus to the inmost shrine of life, and penetrated to the council-chamber of the mind, to find all that had before appeared of skilful architecture and elaborate machinery surpassed and thrown into the shade? But it is all cast away. Mechanical contrivances for mechanical effects! Skilful grouping and complex organization there may be for the hand, the eye, the tongue; for all parts and every function where the mind is not. But where the spirit comes, take all that scaffolding away."

The three chapters on Food—what it is, what it does, and how to take it, and the two chapters on the nerves and brain, may be commended as collectively a good and certainly a very readable exposition of the main facts in question—an exposition the merits of which to many persons will seem greatly enhanced by the graceful setting of poetic fancies with which Mr. Hinton has surrounded it, and indeed fused into its very substance. We cordially approve the drift and argument of his chapter on "Nursing as a Profession." As part of a volume "On Health," the chapter—"Seeing with the Eyes Shut," is about as appropriate as the one on "Force," but scarcely more so, although as an



independent essay it is well worth reading: it is suggestive, discriminating, and interesting; and the same remark applies to the two last chapters—"The Fairy Land of Science," and "A Meditation: on Skeletons, and some other things"—in which there is a freshness and originality both of thought and expression which are not often met with.

Dr. Duchenne's celebrated work on Localized Electrization has at length met with an English translator.<sup>14</sup> The first instalment of his version, consisting of 322 full octavo pages, is now before us. So far as we are able to judge, without actually comparing it with the original, the translation seems to us thoroughly well done; certainly it is "done" into thoroughly good English, and this is no small praise, considering how many translators leave in almost every page of their performances traces of their slovenliness or incompetency. Moreover, Dr. Tibbits has added to the value of the original by some supplementary notes, one of which, consisting mainly of a "condensed translation" of Ziemssen's observations "On certain questions with regard to the value of Galvanic Currents in Medicine," and extending over twelve closely printed pages, is especially instructive and interesting. Part I., to which we are now adverting, contains four chapters, entitled respectively, "Medical Electricity;" "Localized Electrization;" "Historical and Critical Observations upon the Principal Methods of Electrization," and "Electro-Medical Instruments with regard to their application in Pathology, in Physiology, and in Therapeutics." A peculiar value and reliableness attach to Dr. Duchenne's work by virtue of the comprehensive and critical exposition it contains of the anatomical and physiological facts which the author uses as the bases and indicators of his therapeutical processes. The author persistently endeavours to make those processes thoroughly scientific; but when the existence or significance of the facts in question is still a subject of dispute, he freely avows it, and cautiously discriminates between what is indubitably established and what is still in the region of uncertainty. The section "On the Nerves which promote Local Circulation" (p. 156), and the one on "Nerves acting directly upon the Nutrition of the Tissues," are good illustrations of this remark, and are an excellent summary of the present state of knowledge of the subjects to which they relate. But indeed nothing which we might say could add to the reputation of Dr. Duchenne's elaborate, and so far as our present knowledge extends, all but exhaustive treatise. In the estimation of competent professional judges in this country as well as on the Continent, it has long been regarded as incomparably the best work yet produced on electro-therapeutics, and therefore Dr. Tibbits is doing a great service to all English medical practitioners who are not familiar with the French language, in rendering the book accessible to them in their own tongue. We wish we could believe that any considerable propor-

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<sup>14</sup> "A Treatise on Localized Electrization, and its Application to Pathology and Therapeutics." By Dr. G. B. Duchenne. Translated from the Third Edition of the Original, by Herbert Tibbits, M.D., with numerous Illustrations, and Notes and Additions by the Translator. London. 1871.

tion of them would read it with the attention it deserves, or indeed would read it at all. Unhappily the great majority of them seem to think that as soon as they have obtained a diploma, they may fairly cease from troubling themselves to acquire any additional qualifications to discharge the important professional duties devolving upon them.

In large cities, questions about the diagnosis and treatment of insanity mostly fall into the hands of experts; but in other fields of private practice, as well as in the army and navy, every medical man is liable to be consulted in cases of insanity, and to be called upon to diagnose and treat it in its earlier stages, as well as to sign certificates for the detention of lunatics; and if he make a mistake, he may inflict serious injury on his patient, and place himself within the reach of an action for damages. Dr. Blandford's book<sup>15</sup> is written for ordinary practitioners in medicine, and is not intended to be a consulting book for the medical superintendents of asylums, who may nevertheless derive some useful suggestions from it, especially in the matter of prognosis and treatment. The book is made up of twenty lectures, the first two of which enter into the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system. The next sixteen lectures are devoted to the pathology and treatment of lunacy, and are evidently the result of a mature study of the subject. They are full of thoughtful and suggestive remarks. It would be difficult to say which lectures are the best; those on melancholy and general paralysis have interested us much. The following passage contains Dr. Blandford's estimate of the value of chloral:—

“It is a sleep-compelling agent; beyond that, its effect seems of little import. It does not appear to have such a *healing* influence as opium, where the latter is beneficial. In violent and excited cases of acute melancholia, chloral can be given with benefit; but in subacute melancholia the preparations of opium are of great service, whether given by the mouth or by subcutaneous injection.”

Our author favours the views of Drs. Poincaré and Henry Bonnet, that general paralysis depends, especially at the outset, on disturbance of the vaso-motor system, caused by degeneration of the nerve-cells of the sympathetic system. He thinks that where the patients receive the best food and nursing, the duration of general paralysis is often longer than three years. He knows of one case of a wealthy individual who has suffered from general paralysis since 1858, if not earlier, and who is still alive. The two closing lectures on the law of lunacy and the examination of patients, will no doubt often be consulted by medical men called in the course of their practice to treat lunatics; and they will find some advice which will be of much use in guiding them through their difficulties. While the matter of Dr. Blandford's book is so good, his style is still capable of being improved by a little more attention. One occasionally feels that the author has the right ideas

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<sup>15</sup> “Insanity and its Treatment: Lectures on the Treatment, Medical and Legal, of Insane Patients.” By G. Fielding Blandford, M.D. Oxon., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in London, Lecturer on Psychological Medicine at the School of St. George's Hospital, London. Edinburgh. 1871.

in his head, but has not caught at the right expressions; hence the necessity for a certain amount of mental adjustment on the part of the reader. It looks as if Dr. Blandford had written many passages when he was wearied or preoccupied. We are sorry our space only allows us to justify this observation by a single example. Speaking of the notion that there is a smell peculiar to the insane, Dr. Blandford writes:—

“It may be that my sense of smell is not so acute as that of others, though of this I am unaware; but certainly I believe that I have seen insane ladies and gentlemen who, washing and dressing like other people, were as free from smell as the sane who sat with them at table unconscious of their presence.”—(p. 379.)

Here the reader easily guesses that Dr. Blandford wishes to say, that the sane people were unconscious of the insanity, not of the presence, of those with whom they sat at table.

Those of our readers who happen to be students or, indeed, practitioners of medicine, will find Dr. Fenwick's little “Manual of Medical Diagnosis”<sup>16</sup> an excellent help in determining the precise seat and nature of the various diseases which come before them. The book is small enough to be put into a small pocket, and it comprises a general view of the whole range of human maladies which are likely to present themselves in the ordinary experience of a general practitioner of the healing art. The author gives a clear and concise description of the several groups of symptoms observable in each of the thousand ills that flesh is heir to; the kindred groups are arranged in their natural relations to each other, and by a careful analytical exposition of the differences between them, the diseases of which they are severally the expression are conclusively demonstrated. The book is written by a medical teacher, and was originally designed to assist the students attending the medical out-patients' department of the London Hospital, and in special departments of medicine the writer has had the assistance of physicians who have given special attention to those departments. Though a small pocket volume the book is copiously and very judiciously illustrated, and is in all respects admirably well fitted to fulfil the object for which it was designed.

Another very compact and commendable little manual is the one recently compiled by Dr. John Tanner, on “Practical Midwifery.”<sup>17</sup> In his preface the author says—“The object of this work is to afford to the Accoucheur, in as concise a form as possible, compatible with clearness of description and practical utility, a complete guide and handbook to Midwifery and Obstetrics.” Without vouching that Dr. Tanner has produced a “complete” guide, we may safely say that he has produced a good one, the chief merit of which is that it contains in a small compass and in especially clear language, abundantly illustrated with excellent woodcuts, all the information and directions necessary to constitute it a reliable handbook of the practice of mid-

<sup>16</sup> “The Student's Guide to Medical Diagnosis.” By Samuel Fenwick, M.D., F.R.C.P. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London. 1871.

<sup>17</sup> “Practical Midwifery and Obstetrics (including Anæsthetics).” By John Tanner, M.D. London. 1871.

wifery. "By its aid, the student will be enabled," the author affirms, "to go to the bedside of the lying-in for the *first time* with perfect confidence in himself"! We presume the words "*first time*," put in italics by Dr. Tanner, refer to the student and not to "the lying-in;" but if so, we doubt whether even Dr. Tanner's clear directions will enable the student to go for the first time "with perfect confidence" to a woman in labour in order to deliver her; and, indeed, we hope they wont: it seems to us that a little self-distrust in such a case is especially wholesome, and may prove preventative of rash, and therefore dangerous, activity. We must also express a doubt whether "the work contains everything of importance that is to be found in other books on the subject;" if it does, it is implicitly a very severe condemnation of all the big books which have been written about it, and in that case, we should heartily congratulate the new generation of medical students, who may safely ignore altogether such cumbrous volumes as that octavo by Dr. Montgomery, devoted to an exposition of only "the signs and symptoms of pregnancy;" or that other but much thicker octavo, on Obstetric Medicine, by Dr. Ramsbotham; to say nothing of the "Obstetric works" (developed into two stout volumes) of Sir James Simpson. What a comfort it will be to be able both to consign all such books to the flames, and to justify ourselves for doing so by the exclamation—"Everything of importance that is to be found in them is in Dr. Tanner's Complete Guide and Handbook, and whatever there is in them which is not in it is of no importance; therefore, instead of consuming our time, they themselves shall be consumed." We hope, however, that before this "consummation devoutly to be wished," Dr. Tanner will assure himself that his guide is really complete, and for the chance that he may deem it expedient to revise it, we will mention two or three little points for his reconsideration. At page 33 he says—"Diarrhœa arises from an increased flow of bile:" is he certain of this? The hypothesis is beautifully simple; but we fear it is much too simple to explain the really complicated phenomena constituting, or associated with, diarrhœa. In cases of uterine hæmorrhage Dr. Tanner prescribes, *inter alia*, "a hot-water spine-bag to the sacrum," and "enemata of cold water." Would not the effect of the one counteract that of the other? He recommends his readers to "see Dr. Chapman's excellent monograph on the application of heat and cold to the spine." Had he sufficiently studied it himself, he would have found in it no word authorizing the application of heat to the sacrum as a remedy for uterine hæmorrhage: Dr. Chapman's method consists in applying heat along the lower dorsal and the lumbar vertebræ—never lower. Referring to the morning sickness of pregnant women, Dr. Tanner says—"It is sometimes necessary to procure abortion to relieve the symptoms:" think of a "complete" handbook with this passage in it! We fear there may still be need for other books—perhaps even big ones; and as Dr. Chapman's "monograph" is referred to by Dr. Tanner, we advise him to try the method—first suggested in that monograph, and since proved to be efficacious—of arresting the sickness of pregnancy by the judicious use of the spinal ice-bag: it would certainly



be a less "heroic" remedy than the induction of abortion. Finally, we beg to suggest to Dr. Tanner to consider whether the title of his book does not need a little revision: midwifery is a good word, and obstetrics is a good word, but as the one means exactly the same thing as the other, we do not see what object is gained by adding to the plain English word, midwifery, the less familiar, but not more expressive Latin word, obstetrics.

The only French medical book which has come before us this quarter is a sumptuously printed volume by Dr. F. Frédault on the traditions and early history of medicine.<sup>18</sup> The book is intended to form the first volume of a comprehensive history of medicine and is entitled, "*Étude sur nos Traditions.*" The first chapter on the beginnings of medicine contains brief sketches of the ancient medical traditions of the Hindoos, Chinese, Egyptians, Hebrews, and of the Greeks prior to the advent of Hippocrates; the second and third chapters describe the leading events in medical history during two well-defined periods, viz., that extending from Hippocrates to Galen, and the succeeding one reaching from Galen to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The fourth and last chapter is wholly devoted to the development of medical ideas and medical knowledge during that century. The author does not profess that his volume is anything more than a sketch which may serve as a guide to the student who is intent on examining the ancient authors for himself. The book is certainly well adapted to fulfil the object for which it is designed; but in fact it gives such a comprehensive, clear, and concise résumé of medical traditions, and of medical history from the time of Hippocrates down to the close of the sixteenth century, that while it will be found a useful guide by those who make the history of medicine a special study, it will be no less valuable to the ordinary medical reader who merely desires to obtain a broad and general view of the early traditions and historical development of the science and art to which he is devoted.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

**W**E give a cordial welcome to Mr. Tylor's thoughtful volumes entitled "*Primitive Culture.*"<sup>1</sup> These volumes are intended to reinforce the argument for the author's views of early civilization, set forth in his previous volume of "*Researches into the Early History of Mankind.*" During the six years which have elapsed since the publication of the latter work Mr. Tylor has endeavoured to familiarize the public with the principal points of evidence here again advanced, by discussion in lectures and papers. He has now comprehended in one

<sup>18</sup> "*Histoire de la Médecine. Étude sur nos traditions.*" Par Le Dr. F. Frédault. Tome Premier. Paris. 1870.

<sup>1</sup> "*Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom.*" By Edward B. Tylor, Author of "*Researches into the Early History of Mankind.*" London: John Murray. 1871.



accessible and integral work a copious array of facts, which supply the staple of the argument, and has included his numerous illustrative examples in appropriate and systematic groups, so as to show the general law which they tend to establish. Numerous authorities for these facts are cited in the foot-notes. Among the treatises consulted are Professor Bastian's "Man in History" and Professor Waitz's work on the "Anthropology of Uncivilized Races." We do not see that Mr. Tylor has in any instance referred to the very remarkable work of Radenhausen, entitled "Isis," which we are happy to see has recently attained the deserved honour of a second edition. In Mr. Tylor's elaborate disquisition an attempt is first made to classify the details of culture and to demonstrate that the complex network of civilization is held together by different connecting bands—namely, progress, degradation, survival, revival, and modification. Mr. Tylor here briefly refers to the various stages of culture, asserting that its development is in tolerably close correspondence with the transition from savage, through barbarous, to civilized life. The theory advocated by De Maistre and Archbishop Whately, the orthodox theory, in fact, that the savage man is the degenerate descendant of a superior race, is considered with dispassionate earnestness, and the unfavourable conditions of investigation are frankly avowed by our author. The imperfections of the historical record, however, he contends, tell both ways. Yet pre-historic archæology, he continues, though cognizant of facts which may be interpreted so as to imply degeneration, lends little colourable evidence to the orthodox theory. Its negative evidence, indeed, tends strongly in the opposite direction; and the archæological argument, pursued through the various topics into which the science may be distributed, testifies, with overpowering force and convergence, to the soundness of the development or progression theory. A low, rude culture was the original condition of mankind. Traces of it remain in the customs, the superstitions, the language, the beliefs of a more advanced society. These residuary bequests of former generations Mr. Tylor denominates survivals, and he accumulates instances of these singular transmissions, in games of chance, sneezing formulæ, magical processes, emotional and imitative language. The chapter on the Art of Counting gives abundant illustration of the correctness of the philosophical school which asserts that our ideas of number are derived from experience, and enables us to trace the art of counting to its source. All savage tribes have been taught arithmetic by their fingers. The natives of Kamchatka, we are told, when set to count, would reckon all their fingers, and then all their toes, so getting up to twenty, and then would ask, "What are we to do next?" Among nations which are sufficiently advanced to count five, the prevailing methods, quinary, decimal, vigesimal, &c., are all founded on hand-counting. "Among savage and civilized races alike," concludes Mr. Tylor, "the general framework of enumeration stands throughout the world as an abiding monument of primeval culture." In the remarks on the origin of myth which follow this investigation, Mr. Tylor's sterling common sense saves him from advancing any exclusive theory on this subject. Condemning with reason "the profitless

retained even by Aristotle, was the expression for all this apparently spontaneous agency. In contradistinction to the regular phenomena of the inanimate world—the effects of pressure, heat, and light, the changes of the seasons, the movements of the sun, and other observed heavenly bodies—the actions of animated creatures presented a striking irregularity, seeming to be the spontaneous creations of beings which were capable of an infinite number of varied actions. And as objective phenomena only, viewed side by side with physical actions, they certainly might seem at that early stage of speculation a class *sui generis*. For it must be remembered that just then the inquiring mind was unreservedly directed to the objective world; it had not yet begun to be conscious of itself as something distinct from that objective world and giving to the latter its meaning;\* and consequently the supposition of a uniform sequence between objective phenomena, visible actions, and subjective phenomena, volitional forces or motives, could not arise. Here then we find the first fundamental fact entering into the genesis of the Free-Will conception. While a large portion of physical phenomena, and even human actions when produced by external coercion, are at once seen to result from obvious objective causes, all voluntary actions (together with other motions of the lower animals) appear at first sight spontaneous and uncaused.

The idea soon arose, therefore, of a radical and ineffaceable distinction between the two classes. Moreover, in the case of the more special contrast between all purely voluntary and externally coerced actions of human beings, the feelings of degradation and misery associated with the latter, and those of dignity and pleasure with the former, tended to give a greater intensity to this feeling of contrast. A man coerced by another's power felt himself restricted to one mode of action, having no choice in the matter, whereas, when not so coerced, he seemed in contrast to the other state of mind to be wholly undetermined, having an indefinite variety of ways open to his choice.

Closely allied to this distinction, but not identical with it, was another between variable and uniform motions. Whilst a man's actions were of infinite variety, differing with every change in time and place, and presenting the most striking and variegated effects, the apparently equally spontaneous motions of air and fire, the growth of plants and the automatic blind habits of the lower animals, appeared, in contrast, constrained or necessitated by some unalterable law. When this distinction was recognised the

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\* "Der unterscheidende Charakter des griechischen Wesens liegt eben hierin, in jener ungebrochenen Einheit des Geistigen und des Natürlichen." Zeller, "Philosophie der Griechen," Einleitung, p. 96.

objects in general—which souls are regarded as capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body ; and 2, to spiritual beings, which affect the events of the world and man's life here and hereafter, and which are located in an ultra-experiential world. The original doctrine of the soul appears to have been that it was a material substance—that it not only possessed bodily form but suffered mutilation with the body. Souls were transmitted to service in a future life by funeral sacrifice of relatives or attendants. Similarly the souls of plants and of animals were transmitted. Out of the transmissible ethereal soul of primitive history was developed the immaterial soul of modern theology. The soul or spirit proper to man became the type of the transcendental spiritual being—of the polytheistic gods—and even of the supreme God. Mr. Tylor here distinguishes between a pure monotheism and a doctrine of divine supremacy. He seems disposed to agree with Comte that German pantheism is only fetishism generalized and made systematic. Comte's first stage of intellectual interpretation, the Fictitious or Theological, coincides with Mr. Tylor's Animism. The distinction made by the French philosopher between the humble fetish who governs a single object from which it is inseparable, and the god that administers a special order of phenomena at once in different bodies, is adopted by Mr. Tylor, who gives it a special application. There is, he says, a class of divine beings which may be accurately called species-deities, illustrating his notion by examples of class-gods in Polynesia and among the North American Indians. To Sir John Lubbock's and Mr. Herbert Spencer's view of the origin of Totemism—the practice of naming individual men after animals, Bear, Deer, Eagle, &c.—he demurs, partly as insufficiently guaranteed, even where it may be a rational interpretation, and partly as liable to mislead if pushed to extremes. It substitutes, our author objects, unsound explanations of points of mythology and theology which seem to have direct and reasonable explanations of their own. For well-ascertained lunar and solar myths it offers traditions of human heroes and heroines who chanced to bear the names of Sun and Moon. “As to animal worship,” he continues, “when we find men paying distinct and direct reverence to the lion, the bear, or the crocodile as mighty superhuman beings ; or adoring other beasts, birds, or reptiles as incarnations of spiritual deities, we can hardly supersede such well-defined developments of animated religion by seeking their origin in personal names of deceased ancestors who chanced to be called Lion, Bear, or Crocodile.” We have now touched on some of the more important subjects treated of in these instructive volumes. Full of research, affluent in illustration, characterized by sobriety of judgment and lucidity of statement, they form a valuable contribution to the history of primitive culture. We believe the conclusions to be generally sound, and have seldom found ourselves differing with the judicious and accomplished author.

To the Aryan myths (our next book carries us into Ariana) frequent reference is made by Mr. Tylor. The remote past of ancient Persia, the old home of the redundant Aryan race, is treated with an apparently exhaustive comprehensiveness and prodigious learning by

Professor Spiegel,<sup>2</sup> in a work entitled "*Eranische Alterthumskunde.*" The first portion of the present instalment is a geographical description of ancient Persia, in its several divisions and provinces, with an account of its boundaries, its political partitions, its climate, and products. The second book contains an ethnographical sketch. In this book the author traverses certain more or less popular theories, rejecting, for instance, the hypothesis which regards the Medes as of Scythic derivation. The conclusions drawn by Rawlinson and Niebuhr from the arrow-headed inscriptions found on the Pass of Kelishim in Atropatene, he considers quite unfounded. Allowing that these inscriptions belong, as Niebuhr maintains, to the so-called second variety, it by no means follows, argues Dr. Spiegel, that because the language in which they are written is not Indo-Germanic or Semitic, it must necessarily be Scythian. Nor if Scythian, does it follow that the inscriptions are the work of a primitive Turanian population, for they may be the work of those Scythians who invaded Media in the time of Cyaxares. Possibly a Kushite or Egyptian population may have inhabited part of ancient Persia, as Susiana, in particular. The oldest remaining records of the Iranian intellectual life are in the old Persian inscriptions and Avesta. The sacred writings of the Hebrews, are also the oldest record of the Semitic race. In a critical investigation of some length, Dr. Spiegel endeavours to ascertain the elements common to the Semitic race, and the interaction of Semites and Turanians. For this purpose he examines the traditions contained in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and shows their relation to similar legends in Sanchoniathon, Berossus, &c. The story of the Deluge he pronounces Semitic, and traces it from Babylon to Ariana, and thence to India. In the story of Eden he recognises Iranian representations. These representations are not found in the fundamental document of Genesis, the Elohist, but in the Jehovistic constituents, which are of later origin. The grand conception of the Indo-Germanic and Semitic races has a characteristic common to both. The idea of immutable existence which appears in the Hebrew Jahveh or Jehovah ("I am that I am") has its echo in the Iranian Ahura, which also implies *existence*. It results in general from this parallelism of ideas that the Iranians received certain views, such as might constitute a portion of a philosophical system, from the Semites, and modified them through the action of a mythology of their own; while, on the other hand, the Semites derived from the Iranians those fanciful narrations which we refer to the Indo-Germanic period. Our author subscribes to the opinion of Movers, that these intellectual approximations of the Semites with the East, are to be placed no further back than the early growth of the Assyrian empire—in other words, that these Aryan conceptions became known to the Hebrews only after the tenth century. Conversely the Semitic ideas appropriated by the Iranians, were derived from the same source and from the same influence; for still less than the more distant Hebrews, could they resist

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<sup>2</sup> "*Eranische Alterthumskunde von Pr. Spiegel. Erster Band. Geographie, Ethnographie, und Älteste Geschichte.*" Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1871.



their importation from the neighbouring œcumenical capitals of Nineveh and Babylon.

The history of the German land and people, one branch of the great Indo-European family, as narrated by Herr von Rochau, appears at an opportune moment.<sup>3</sup> In the first part of this history the author has described the German past, beginning with the year 50 B.C., or thereabouts, and terminating with the death of Manfred and the fall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. The Roman war to the death of Valentinian, the wanderings of the restless populations which succeeded, the results of these wanderings, the constitutions and laws of the old German tribes, the empire of the Franks, the commencement of the German kingdom under Arnulf, Ludwig, and Conrad, are the principal topics into which the history is distributed. The second portion of the work, which the author intends to publish in the course of the next year, will carry down the history to our own time.

The annals of the kingdom of the Franks under King Pippin, is a series of chronologically arranged essays, illustrative of the principal events and transactions which occurred within the period A.D. 752 and A.D. 768.<sup>4</sup> In compiling these learned dissertations, Dr. Ludwig Oelsner has consulted innumerable ancient documents, and has conscientiously subjoined the references to the statements on each page, in corresponding foot-notes. The matter is almost necessarily of an ecclesiastical character, though not limited to Church narratives; warlike incidents and political transactions being included in the copious succession of chapters into which the volume is divided. The great national missionary, Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, Winifred, an Englishman by birth, has of course a prominent place among the heroic persons whose actions are recorded. The privileges of Utrecht and Fulda, the decline of the Byzantine power, the Lombard States, the relations of the papacy to the kingdom of the Franks, the Italian war, the three Aquitanian campaigns, negotiations with Byzantium and Bagdad, donations and synods, are the subjects discussed in the various chapters in which the author has arranged his material. In an excursus of about a hundred pages there is much minute discussion on different points, archæological, chronological, biographical, and documentary—such as the capitularies and synodal statutes of Pippin's reign, the date of the birth of Karl the Great, and of the death of Boniface.

An attempt to vindicate the claims to political and intellectual efficiency of this "grand old pre-Roman Britain of ours," by Mr. Saxe Bannister, has some just enough notions in it, but is incomplete, uncritical, and crotchety.<sup>5</sup> In *King Lear*, in *Gorboduc*, in *Cymbeline*, the essayist discovers a fund of truth to support Milton's claim of

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte der Deutschen Landes und Volkes." Von A. L. von Rochau. Erster Theil. Berlin: 1871.

<sup>4</sup> "Jahrbücher des Frankeschen Reiches unter König Pippin." Von Ludwig Oelsner. Leipzig: 1871.

<sup>5</sup> "Classical and Pre-Historic Influences upon British History: Our Philanthropy from of Old, our Ever-struggling Past, and our Future." By Saxe Bannister, M.A., formerly Attorney-General of New South Wales. Second Edition. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1871.



that antique Britain for "our poet's" sake. They represent, he tells us, our British race for untold ages. To them he appeals with confidence for demonstration against Mr. Darwin's theory of man's lowly origin. We are no believers in the sanguine view which Mr. Bannister appears to share with Sir John Fortescue, Bolton, Selden, and other concordant champions of historical antiquarianism, but we agree with Mr. Bannister in his appreciation of the conditions of all progress, namely union, legal security, freedom, and popular teaching.

In the "Polychronicon" of Ralph Higden,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Bannister will find some interesting notices of his grand old pre-Roman Britain. Ebrancus, the sixth king of that realm, reigned forty years; married twenty wives, and was the father of twenty sons and thirty daughters. The daughters he sent to Alba Silvius, "king of Latins," that they "might be coupled to the blood of Troy," while his sons, in conjunction with Duke Assaracus, took possession of the greater part of Germany. Higden's authorities for these and other similar stories are Geoffrey of Monmouth and Alfred of Beverley. We cannot look upon this volume of State publications as anything but a curiosity. It contains what is called the history of the world from the reigns of David and Solomon to the Asiatic conquests of Alexander, and blends legend and history together in most admired confusion. In an account of Aristotle's life and career, we have mixed up with it the story of his supernatural parentage, the interment of his works with him in a mysterious sepulchre, and their predicted discovery by Antichrist. The portions of the "Polychronicon" contained in this third volume are parts of the second and third books. Besides the text it contains the English translation of John Trevisa, and that of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century. Mr. Lumby's Introduction sufficiently explains the nature and extent of this historical compilation.

A work of a very different character now presents itself in the "Descriptive Catalogue" of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, of which the third volume is now given to the world.<sup>7</sup> It enumerates and describes the documents relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland in separate entries and chronological order, and is a remarkable testimony to the patience, industry, research, and learning of its able editor. In the excellent essay which introduces it we have a variety of curious antiquarian information on the compilation of chronicles in monasteries, on the *scriptorium*, or writing chamber, the *armarius*, or librarian, on writing materials, and the so-called secular scribes—a class which included the illuminators. Among the scribes Dicmudis, a woman, obtains honourable mention as an indefatigable copyist of books.

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<sup>6</sup> "Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translations, &c." Edited by Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College. Vol. III. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. London: Longmans and Co. and Trübner and Co. 1871.

<sup>7</sup> "Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the End of the Reign of Henry VII." By Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. Vol. III. From A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1327. London: Longmans and Co. and Trübner and Co. 1871.

Sir Thomas Hardy is sceptical as to the various talents and accomplishments attributed to Matthew Paris. In the midst of his endless and engrossing occupations, he thinks it scarcely possible that he could have employed himself on the multitudinous and onerous works ascribed to him, especially those of a caligraphist. He differs also from Sir F. Madden's opinion that Matthew of Westminster's *Flores Historiarum* is a mere abridgment by that writer of the *Historia Major*, made for the monastery of St. Peter's at Westminster, and suggests that it is an original work, having for its basis either the compilation which he attributes to Walter of St. Alban's, or else the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover. Besides critical essays prefixed to the present volume of the *Catalogue*, the reader will find there a tabular recital of the contents, a copious index with appendices, many carefully executed plates of fac-similes, given as specimens of manuscripts said to have been penned by Matthew Paris's own hand, and now published in the hope of settling the vexed question as to the handwriting of that historiographer. Finally, there is a paper by the editor, containing general remarks on these plates.

Another work from the Public Record Office is a new volume of the "Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1697—1701-2," prepared by Mr. Reddington.<sup>8</sup> Among the subjects which it illustrates, we find the life, career, and character of John Evelyn, Lord Bellomont, Governor of New York and its connected provinces; Sir William Beeton, Governor of Jamaica; Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester; Dr. Titus Oates; and the Czar Peter the Great. There are also documents, statistical, topographical, commercial, and miscellaneous. The index which closes the volume is drawn up with a precision which leads the inquirer more directly to the entry in the "Calendar," and facilitates production of the original document when necessary.

The century in which some of the transactions recorded in Mr. Reddington's "Calendar" occurred, was that which witnessed the early English colonization of North America. Mr. Neill, after careful scrutiny of the manuscripts of the great London trading company under whose auspices the first colonists were despatched, and other documents, has endeavoured to trace the successive steps of this colonization, producing rather a chronological compilation than a real historical composition.<sup>9</sup> Early in the 17th century the desire to found a New Britain on the Western Continent became strong and general. Gosnold, Hakluyt, and Salterne were the principal agents in the promotion of the enterprise. On the 6th of April, 1606, a patent was granted to Hakluyt, Gates, and other gentlemen, to reduce a colony of sundry people into that part of America commonly called Virginia, between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude. The fortunes, disasters,

<sup>8</sup> "Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1697—1701-2, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Prepared by Joseph Reddington, Esq., one of the Assistant-Keepers of the Public Records. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans and Co. and Trübner and Co. 1871.

<sup>9</sup> "The English Colonization of America during the Seventeenth Century." By Edward D. Neill, Consul of the United States of America at Dublin. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.

and contentions of the colonists during the administration of Edward Wingfield, a man of honourable birth and a strict disciplinarian, are briefly recounted by Mr. Neill in his first chapter. The reorganization of the settlement, under Lord Delaware, called the Captain-General of Virginia, and the Deputy-Governors, Gates and Dale, is the subject of the next chapter. The two following chapters are occupied with the career of Captain Samuel Argall, who was deposed for his dishonourable practices, to be again restored to his former post, and of Pocahontas and her companions. Referring to Mr. Baneroft's romantic account of John Rolfe, an amiable enthusiast, whose anxiety was to convert and then unite the Indian maiden to himself by the holy bonds of matrimony, Mr. Neill assures us that the prosaic pages of the London company's transactions and the old folios of Purchas "show that Rolfe was a married man some years before this union, and that after his death there was a white woman and her children, besides the son he had by Pocahontas." The North Virginia Colony—for the patentees contemplated, and in fact founded, two plantations—is next noticed by Mr. Neill. Then we have a chapter on William Brewster and the Leyden Nonconformists, followed by a series of chapters describing the services and career of Patrick Copland, chaplain to the East India Company. After this we have an account of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, of Henry Fleet, the explorer of the Potomac river, and Robert Evelyn and other explorers of the Delaware river. Cæcilius, the second Lord Baltimore, and the settlement of Maryland, the Virginia Puritans, Penn and the Quakers, and the adherents of the Church of England, furnish the subject-matter of the remainder of the volume. The intolerance of religious zeal appears in much of its malignant hideousness in the godly men of the English colonization. The early Virginia code prescribed death for blasphemy, and even for profane swearing, on conviction for the third time; a whipping for want of proper respect to a clergyman, or for the delinquent's refusal to give an account of his faith; while for the first omission to attend church the loss of a week's provisions, for the second, corporal punishment, and for the third, death, were the prescribed penalties. The old saints quarrelled with the new saints, moreover; and Cotton Mather, an eminently pious man, approved of the "secret orders given by the General Court to make captive Penne and his ungodly crew," and recommends his correspondent to "sell the whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and thus not only do the Lord great service, but make great gain for his ministers." Mr. Neill corrects many statements found in standard historians, and notably Baneroft's assertion that the settlers of Maryland were most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen, citing Lord Baltimore's letter to Strafford, which intimates that the colonists were poor labouring men. Our author adds, "there is reason to believe that they were mostly Protestants."

Among the discoverers and conquerors of the New World who preceded by more than a century the earliest of our English colonists, Fernando Cortes holds a distinguished place. At once a statesman, an adventurer, and a soldier, he represented, according to his most

recent biographer, the valour, religion, policy, and craft of the century to which he belonged. In the "*Life of Fernando Cortés*,"<sup>10</sup> which Mr. Arthur Helps has drawn up with his customary diligence and research, we have a narrative of the actions of this memorable man, commencing with his birth at Medellin, in Estremadura, in 1485, and ending with his death in a small village near Seville, in 1547. At thirty-three years of age, Cortes became a rising and prosperous man. His appointment to the command of an expedition, his career in New Spain, his early attempts at colonizing and city-building, are told by Mr. Helps in his own quiet and unaffected manner. At the battle of Cintla, in which St. James is said to have appeared on a white horse, he won his first victory, reduced the Indians of Tobasco to submission, and, with other presents from the conquered, received twenty female slaves; among them, Donna Marina, a beautiful and quick-witted woman, who acted as interpreter to Cortes, and without whose "aid," says Mr. Helps, "his conquest of Mexico would never have been accomplished." In the march to Tlascala, Cortes had to fight his way, and not till after three or four engagements did he succeed in bringing the people of that territory to terms. The Tlascalans and Mexicans were then at variance, and Cortes had previously sent word to the senate of Tlascala that he was coming to them on his way to Mexico, and wished to make the Tlascalan cause his own. Mr. Helps remarks, that the situation in which Cortes now found himself placed (the Tlascalan and the Mexican ambassadors opposing counter-considerations) was eminently suited to the genius of the crafty conqueror. A little diplomacy, however, seems to have been all that was necessary on the occasion, for, recognising their inferiority, the Tlascalan chiefs entreated him to enter their town, sought his friendship, and became vassals of the King of Spain. In describing the treacherous ambuscade contemplated by the Mexicans and betrayed to Donna Marina by a Cholulan woman, Mr. Helps relies on the authority of Bernal Diaz, and accuses Las Casas of unfairness in the account which he gives of the massacre which avenged the intended treachery, and in his imputation to Cortes of a very different motive for that dreadful butchery, namely the wish to spread terror. In his description of Mexico, Mr. Helps again draws on Bernal Diaz, and expatiates on the diadem of gleaming towers, and the temples and other edifices, which to the rude Spanish soldiers "appeared like the enchanted castles which they tell of in the book of Amadis." The wonders and the glories of ancient Mexico have been regarded with suspicion by some sceptical writers. Mr. Carlyle, it appears, some time ago hinted to Mr. Helps, "delicately, but decisively, that there might be doubts as to the truth of the wonderful things he has told about Mexico." Mr. Helps, however, having looked over ninety folio volumes of MS. in the collection of Muñoz, when residing at Madrid, assures his distinguished friend, to whom this "*Life of Cortes*" is dedicated, that "there ought to be no such doubts." Mr. Carlyle is not the only person, though he is un-

<sup>10</sup> "*The Life of Fernando Cortes.*" By Arthur Helps, Author of the "*Spanish Conquest in America.*" In Two Volumes. London: Bell and Daldy. 1871.



questionably the most eminent person, who has had doubts about the Amadis de Gaul splendours of Mexico. In 1859, Mr. Robert Anderson Wilson, in "A New History of the Conquest of Mexico," denied the authenticity of the chronicles out of which the late Mr. Prescott fashioned his narrative of the Conquest. Even before Prescott wrote his history, the Hon. Lewis Cass had pointed out the inconsistencies and fables, or what he conceived to be such, of the Spanish historians, and Mr. Albert Gallatin had denounced the Aztec picture-writing as an imposture. The narrative of Bernal Diaz, Mr. Wilson sets aside as a "history conformed to the interests of the Church;" and seems to regard Diaz himself as a mythical personage. He asserts roundly that Cortes pompously exaggerates; that in describing Montezuma's capital he describes Grenada; that the palaces which he is said to have burnt never existed; that the Indians were not addicted to human sacrifices; and that the imputation of cannibalism is a gross libel. Mr. Wilson's scepticism is, doubtless, extreme, and we are not prepared to justify it. We trust that competent inquirers will hereafter turn their attention to this point, and subject the statements of the original authorities, and the characters and qualifications of those authorities, to a more rigid examination than Mr. Helps appears to have done. After the destruction of 6000 Cholulans, the conquerors were received at Tenochtitlan, the Mexican capital, as the children of the sun, destined by prophetic tradition to subvert the Aztec empire. To obviate another treacherous attack, Cortes carried off the Emperor Montezuma, loaded him with irons, and burnt six of his officers in front of the imperial palace. Montezuma, though he afterwards acknowledged Charles V. as his lord, refused to embrace Christianity; and when Cortes led on his soldiers to suppress, as he alleged, the human sacrifices of the Mexican religion, and to overthrow the idols, a general insurrection compelled him to desist. With the death of Montezuma, who perished in an ineffectual attempt to appease his subjects, and the total defeat of the Mexicans, in the plain of Otumba, July 7, 1520, all opposition terminated. Cortes became the triumphant appropriator of a country which formed for three centuries one of the most brilliant jewels in the crown of Castile. Successful as a soldier, he appears in the pages of Mr. Helps as a consummate man of business, as an explorer and a colonizer. He promoted at his own expense different expeditions, one of which discovered California. He afterwards coasted, himself, both sides of that gulf, then called the Sea of Cortes. Guatemala and New Galicia were discovered, not indeed by Cortes himself, but by his captains. In 1540 he left Mexico, accompanied the Emperor in his expedition to Algeria, lost the emeralds which he carried with him, and experienced a greater loss in the miscarriage of that disastrous enterprise. His last years were sad and troubled. "Old, poor, and indebted," he had much to endure. He had won kingdoms for a monarch who refused to hear his appeal. He died, leaving the suits that distressed him unsettled. Mr. Helps praises him for his brilliant audacity, his soldierly qualities, his fertility in resources, his political ability, and the completeness of his work. He admits the occasional inhumanity of his conduct, while



denying that he was cruel in disposition. Allowing his readers to feel sympathy with the Mexicans for their intellectual attainments, their refinement, and even their piety, he also requests their sympathy for the great Marquis, pleading his sincere belief in Christianity, and his determination to substitute that beneficent religion for the hideous and cruel superstitions of the people he was resolved to conquer. The story of Mr. Helps's hero is well told, but it wants depth of colour and breadth of view.

The next work on our table has many heroes for its subject. "English Premiers from Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel," is an agreeable and interesting work.<sup>11</sup> The principal objection that can be brought against it, is one that may be brought against all such works. A succession of biographical portraits, often contemporary, becomes monotonous, and in becoming monotonous, becomes wearisome. There is a want of unity, of purpose, a sense of abrupt discontinuation and sudden resumption, in passing from the life of one Premier to another, which are unfavourable to literary effect. The book, however, is put together with taste, with judgment, with a certain quiet impressiveness, and with an entire avoidance of partisan language or intolerant sentiment. In general the authorities which Mr. Earle has consulted on the construction of his fabric of narrative, are such well known and accessible works as "Macaulay's History of England," Lord Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," "Horace Walpole's Memoirs." Perhaps for the end which he had in view it was hardly necessary to spend much time in recondite research into the characters or the actions of the men whose stories he has told us with so intelligent, if sometimes with too superficial and rapid, a treatment. The period, the political aspects of which he has in some degree elucidated, comprises a period of about one hundred and twenty-five years. The influence which the first of the Premiers, Sir Robert Walpole, exercised for nearly a quarter of a century, was highly benignant. He secured tranquillity at home and exemption from foreign war; he saved public credit; advanced manufactures and commerce; and, to borrow the words which Mr. Earle has already borrowed from Thackeray, "but for his resolute counsels and good humoured resistance, we might have had German despots attempting a Hanoverian regimen over us." This sagacious and prudent minister, better known as Sir Robert Walpole than Lord Orford, died in 1745, and was succeeded by Sir Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, as was that nobleman by Henry Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle. The Pelhams were by no means "statesmen of the first order, but their memoirs," says our author, "are important and entertaining, because they were placed at the head of affairs at a critical period of English history, when the Stuarts were making their last efforts to recover the Crown or, failing this, to unsettle the public peace." The accession of George III. in 1760 broke up the power of the ministry. The elder Pitt and Lord

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<sup>11</sup> "English Premiers, from Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel." By John Charles Earle, B.D. Oxon. . In two Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall. 1871.

Bute were both Secretaries of State in 1761, and people asked which of the two is first minister—the idiot Duke of Newcastle being the actual premier. Bute's administration lasted only one year. Then followed the Grenville, the Rockingham, and the Grafton cabinets. The good-humoured and obsequious Lord North succeeded. For twelve years he supported George III. in his attempts to maintain extreme views of the royal prerogative, and contributed his share towards the alienation from the British empire of a large part of its western dependencies. In the Coalition cabinet of the Duke of Portland in 1783, as in the Rockingham administration of the preceding year, Charles James Fox was a State Secretary. To this celebrated man Mr. Earle, travelling beyond his brief, allots a separate biographical section, though Fox was never a Premier. Fox, Mr. Earle rightly says, represents principles rather than deeds. His life was spent in protesting against measures which he disapproved, or advocating measures which his great rival had either not the will or the power to enact. "His creed extended no further than Deism, and his benevolent desires for the welfare of others were limited by the narrow boundaries of this fleeting life." Pitt was perhaps more orthodox than Fox, but he never professed any special conviction of the truth of Revelation, and "Wilberforce, who knew him well, attached no credence to the stories that were told of his pious end." The sketch which Mr. Earle has given us of the life of this great minister is more complete and satisfactory, we think, than any of the other biographical portraits. The administration of "All the Talents," that of Portland, and that of Perceval, have a section among them. The common sense of Lord Liverpool receives recognition in the next division of the book, and the *intermediate* policy of the brilliant Canning is depicted in the same pages. In touching on the secret stipulations of Tilsit, Mr. Earle vindicates the seizure of the Danish fleet, declaring that the Regent of Portugal communicated the Emperor's design to the Prince of Wales, and the Prince to the Duke of Portland, in May, 1807, and that the Government was accordingly justified in carrying out this violent and arbitrary measure. Mr. Earle, however, gives us no authority for this affirmation. Is he aware that in a letter from Mr. Ross, Mr. Canning's private secretary, to Lord Malmesbury, dated September 21, 1807, Canning's ignorance of the secret articles is indirectly admitted? A tolerably complete sketch of Wellington's career is followed by a brief biography of Earl Grey, one of the promoters of the Reform Bill of 1832, who, if Lord Brougham's recent statement may be credited, would have preferred Household Suffrage as the basis of an amended representation, to that which was actually adopted. Though generally accurate, Mr. Earle's liberal and charitable constructions now and then lead him to unintentional exaggeration or incompleteness of statement. Thus the hero of Waterloo is called the champion of oppressed Catholics, the fact being that both the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were opposed to the concession of the Catholic claims, and only yielded them because they preferred that alternative to civil war. A similar remark holds good in the case of the Test and Corporation Acts, a bill for the repeal of which was introduced in 1828

by Lord John Russell, and carried by the surrender of the Duke, although opposed to this measure. Again, in commending Peel and Sir James Graham for their promotion of the Factories Bill, Mr. Earle gives them credit for the limitation of labour to ten hours a day, whereas both Peel and Graham opposed the reduction, and the ten hours clause was rejected and the Bill of 1844 passed without it. The Ten Hours Bill, which was carried on the motion of Mr. Fielden during the Russell administration of 1847, found Sir Robert Peel strongly opposed to the diminution of the hours of labour, in the interest, as he believed, of the working classes. Mr. Earle does not bring down his series of biographies to our own time. He ends with Peel, and in closing his volumes he dwells, with great enthusiasm, on the good work done by our great ministers from the death of Queen Anne to our own time, commending Walpole for his financial skill and free trade efforts; Stanhope for his spirit of toleration; Pelham for his leniency towards the Jews; Chatham for his stern sense of justice; Pitt for his conciliatory policy to Ireland; Fox for his zeal for religious equality; Canning for his generous advocacy of Catholic Emancipation; Wellington for his resolute straightforwardness; and Peel for his slow, secret, thoughtful developments. It is impossible to read these "lives" without a growing conviction of the gradual progress of truth and right, and the inevitable attraction of high intelligence, whether in Liberal or Conservative, towards a large and generous policy, *capable* of welding together the venerable past and the hopeful present into a compact and well-proportioned fabric—capable, we say, for we cannot think, with Mr. Earle, that the work of consolidation is yet completed.

In Mr. Mark Boyd's garrulous "Reminiscences of Fifty Years," will be found notices of Pitt, the Duke of Wellington, Nelson, and other remarkable men, with anecdotes illustrating contemporary wit, manners, and social circumstance.<sup>12</sup> The wit is not brilliant, the anecdotes are not in general entertaining or impressive, and the incidents are frequently not worth recording. The passage in the Reminiscences which has interested us most is that which relates some of the official experiences of "Lieut. Thomas Waghorn, R.N., the hero of the Overland route."

Mr. Tyerman's hero, John Wesley, has a third and final volume dedicated to the recital of his adventures as a religious knight-errant, of his opinions and his literary exertions. The incidents of twenty-three years of his life are here told with the ample but lumbering circumstantiality of his latest, best informed, and clumsiest biographer.<sup>13</sup> In our opinion Mr. Tyerman greatly overrates the influence of Wesley; yet, if preaching could have regenerated society, society would have been regenerated by the devoted labours of an itinerant minister, who, in fifty years, travelled a quarter of a million of miles,

<sup>12</sup> "Reminiscences of Fifty Years." By Mark Boyd. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1871.

<sup>13</sup> "The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists." By the Rev. L. Tyerman, Author of the "Life and Times of Rev. S. Wesley, M.A." Vol. iii. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1871.

and preached more than forty thousand sermons. As far as we can see, however, the work of regeneration remains to be done, by wiser men and by profounder methods. Wesley had, with many excellent qualities, many singular prepossessions, many absurd beliefs. He maintained the reality of witchcraft and apparitions, and attributed the phenomena of animal magnetism to Satanic agency; he held that sin was the moral cause of earthquakes; that earthquakes were the effect of God's anger: that before the Fall there were no violent concussions of the earth and no volcanoes or burning mountains. Wesley's culture, however, was very general, notwithstanding his orthodox prepossessions, and, in abridging, publishing, and circulating Brooke's "Fool of Quality," he showed his superiority to the narrow conventional views of his co-religionists. The industry of Wesley was in proportion to his extraordinary constitutional vigour. His labours were almost incredible. At eighty-three years of age, while composing his "Life of Fletcher," he devoted fifteen hours a day to this task. In his married life Wesley was unfortunate. His wife libelled him, purloined his manuscripts, altered and interpolated them, and used them to corroborate her defamatory statements. Wesley's relations with the notorious Dr. Dodd, with Lord George Gordon, and the poet Crabbe; his opinions on literature, politics, taxation, negro slavery; his controversies, his journeys, his occupations, and all the story of his life from year to year—from 1768 to 1791—are all set forth in this final volume of Mr. Tyerman's biography.

About a dozen years before the death of John Wesley, a youth of courage, energy, and talent presented himself for admission at the gates of the University of Utrecht, who was destined to bear no insignificant part in the stormy events which rendered that quiet-seeming city the arena of political strife.<sup>14</sup> Peter Philip Juriaan Ondaatje was the son of William J. Ondaatje, the descendant of an ancient family of original settlers at Colombo, the erudite minister of the Reformed Dutch and Portuguese Congregation in that city, and of Hermina Quint, the daughter of a citizen of Amsterdam, with whom he had formed an acquaintance during his residence in Holland. It was in Colombo, whither he returned after his marriage, that the subject of the present memoir first saw the light. In 1774, young Ondaatje arrived at Amsterdam, and after four years' instruction in the Latin and Greek schools, was removed to the University of Utrecht. During the course of a distinguished academic career, Ondaatje, a student of law, engaged in politics, and as leader and representative of a body of dissatisfied citizens, presented to the Council assembled in the Town Hall of Utrecht an address embodying the demands of an excited multitude. The Dutch, weary of the in-

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<sup>14</sup> "Memorials and Times of Peter Philip Juriaan Quint Oudaatje, &c. (formerly of the Island of Ceylon). With an Appendix, compiled from Original Authorities." By Mr. C. M. Davies, Author of the "History of Holland." Published under the auspices of the Historical Society of Utrecht, with an Introduction, by G. W. Vreede, Esq., Professor of Laws at the University of Utrecht, and author of several political and diplomatic works. With Portrait. Utrecht. 1870.



glorious case and selfish indifference of the Government of the Stadtholder William V., and resolved to terminate the process of decay and degradation which marked the reign of the incapable young despot, desired to revert to the first principles of their old Constitution. A commission of deputies representing 1215 citizens of Utrecht, the delegates of four provinces, accepted the movement of Ondaatje as the cause of the entire people of the Netherlands. The patriotic party gained a temporary success, and the freedom of the people being, as was supposed, sufficiently secured by the oath of the "Sixteen Commissioned," Ondaatje returned to the pursuit of academical honours, and on the 13th January, 1786, obtained the degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law at the University of Leyden. Unfortunately the result disappointed expectation. The City and the Provincial States of Utrecht found themselves hopelessly at variance. Civil war became imminent. The Orange party commenced hostilities, but were defeated by the patriots near Zeist. At Utrecht Ondaatje and his brother officers, rather than surrender to an implacable enemy, determined to set fire to the four corners of the city. The Stadtholder, who was nearly related to the King of England, was also the brother-in-law of the King of Prussia, Frederick William II. The Princess, a capable, ambitious, and imperious woman, found a party in the Court, which included the English and Prussian Ambassadors, and, like it, did not hesitate to have recourse to extreme measures in order to restore the Prince, who had already been deprived of all his offices and emoluments in the Province. The intrigue was discovered; the Princess worsted; and the King of Prussia, backed by the promised support of the naval force of England, speedily overran the United Provinces with his armies. The patriot party was dispersed; the Stadtholder became virtually the Sovereign of the country and the viceroy of England and Prussia. The three powers arranged the terms of a treaty, which proved to be a mere family pact, re-confirming the Resolutions and Diplomas of 1747-8, with all the old anomalies and abuses. Sentence was now pronounced against Ondaatje, who fled before the storm and found refuge, first at Brussels and then at Ghent, 1790. As the French Revolution advanced, however, brighter prospects began to dawn on the emigrants. When war was declared by France against Prussia and Austria, Ondaatje enlisted in the foreign legion. But alas! the hopes inspired by the French Government were never fulfilled. After the defeat of Dumouriez at Neerwinden, we find Ondaatje following the wreck of the army by Brussels to Rijssel. Placing himself under the command of La Marlière, a General of Division, Ondaatje was now compelled to fight against his own countrymen, the posts being held by Dutch troops. After the defence of Dunkirk, which followed the recall of La Marlière, Ondaatje, who had assisted as a volunteer in the defence, abandoned the military career. Despairing of restoration to his country by aid of the arms of the French Republic, he retired from the tumultuous scenes of war and politics to the more congenial pursuits of literature. At Calais he married Christina Hesse, the beautiful daughter of Adrian Hoevenaar, of



Utrecht, who had done and suffered much in his country's cause. An eventual alliance between the patriot party and the French Republic was inevitable; and when success attended on the French arms and Pichegru and Moreau made a triumphal entry into the Hague, Ondaatje returned, though not till after some months' delay, to his mother country. On the conclusion of a treaty between the two Republics the recluse of Calais accepted the appointment of Under Secretary of the War Department. We next find him occupying the posts of Director of the East India Company, of the Agency of Police and Home Correspondence, and Solicitor of Marine. After the annexation of Holland to the Empire of Napoleon, he was created member of the Imperial Council of *Prises*, and was still at this post when the Allies entered Paris in 1814. On March 30th of that year the Constitution proposed by William Frederic, the Sovereign Prince, in person, was at once accepted by an immense majority, and Ondaatje, willing to hope the best of the new Government, proffered his services to the Prince of Orange. Finding, however, that his friends were less forgiving than the Prince, and that his residence in Holland was likely to be one of danger and embarrassment, he solicited and obtained a civil appointment in the East Indies. On arriving at Batavia he was appointed Councillor of the Supreme Court of Justice, but did not live to enjoy the dignities of the office. A previous stroke of apoplexy, from which he had partially rallied, proved fatal in the end, and on the 30th of April, 1818, he breathed his last. The biography of this remarkable though little known politician is given to the world by the Historical Society of Utrecht. It is the production, and a really meritorious production, of Mrs. C. M. Davies, the daughter of Mr. Drake, a British diplomatic minister in Naples, and the author of a "History of Holland," published nearly thirty years ago by J. W. Parkes, the right of publication being granted to the *Society* by the proprietor, a relative of the subject of the memoir, bearing the same name. The work is introduced by an historical and biographical disquisition, written by J. W. Vreede, Professor of Laws at the University of Utrecht, in a thoughtful, moderate, though thoroughly liberal spirit. The Professor considers that Ondaatje stands unparalleled as the only Asiatic who figures in European history. His career is certainly an interesting one; and the history of the revolution in which he bore so conspicuous a part, contains, as we have seen, some striking passages. The revolution itself is noticeable as the prelude of the mighty insurrectionary tempest that was soon to sweep over Europe. It found the nation suffering under real grievances that demanded remedy, but it found it also discontent and of divided counsels. The nobility and clergy appealed to the passions and prejudices of the multitude, and "the democratic party were muled, persecuted, pillaged by the very people in whose cause they combated." The peasantry and the lower classes of operatives in the town were vehement partisans of the House of Orange, and Mrs. Davies very opportunely comments on what appears to be an abiding characteristic of the ignorant masses, when she portrays them as a description of people to whom the idea of government of a single head is at all times

more congenial and intelligible than the complicated forms of a republic.

By a happy coincidence, the appearance of Herr Leyser's "Goethe in Strasburg"<sup>15</sup> synchronizes with the recovery by Germany of what in the poet's time and phrase was still an "Alsatian Semi-France," retaining at that period, just a century since, "an affectionate adherence to the old constitution, manners, language, and costume." Though annexation on sentimental grounds would have been a wholly indefensible proceeding, the more solid plea for the restoration of Strasburg to its mother land is reinforced by the silent rhetoric of German memories and traditions, recalled by the names of Erwin of Steinbach, Johannes Tauler, and the illustrious poet whose brief residence there gave rise to an episode of such enduring interest. The graceful little volume now presented to us by Herr Leyser, is a sort of supplementary expansion of the beautiful pages in the "Dichtung und Wahrheit," wherein Goethe has enshrined his Strasburg experiences. Divided into nine chapters, the volume describes the Strasburg of a hundred years since, the poet's arrival and residence there, his intercourse with Salzmann, Stelling, Lenz, Lerse, Herder, and the general social characteristics of the city. From Strasburg, Leyser carries us to Sesenheim, the scene of the beautiful idyll of Goethe and Frederica; he then enters on questions connected with the letters and papers of Goethe published by Schöll in 1858, dwells on Goethe's departure from Sesenheim and his return home; describes his own visit to Meissenheim, the burial-place of Frederica and other members of the Brion family; and, as a fitting conclusion to his labours of love, retires in favour of the great poet, who in those old "Strasburg letters" which revive the glorious hopes and feelings of his early life, comes forward to converse, as it were, directly with us—the men of a later generation.

We pass on now to an English cultivator of a sister form of the beautiful, of whom Mr. Dickens observed, that "no artist ever went to his rest leaving a golden memory more pure from dross, or having devoted himself with a truer chivalry to the art-goddess whom he worshipped." Daniel Maclise,<sup>16</sup> the subject of this remark, was born in Cork on January 25th, 1811, his father being a respectable tradesman in that city. When little more than a child he gave evidence of the talent by which he afterwards obtained celebrity. In 1825, Sir Walter Scott, during a hasty tour of Ireland, visited the establishment of Mr. Bolton, a bookseller in that city. While there, his attention was attracted by a finished pen-and-ink sketch—a portrait of himself—and highly commending it, he wrote his own name at the foot. By Bolton's advice it was lithographed, and the copies were so eagerly sought for that Maclise was induced by his friends to open an *atelier* in Patrick-street. In 1827 he entered the Royal Academy as a student. In 1829 he obtained the gold medal for the "Choice of Hercules."

<sup>15</sup> "Goethe zu Strasburg, ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Dichters von J. Leyser, mit Abbildungen und Facsimiles." Neustadt a. d. Haardt. Verlag von A. H. Gottschiek-Witter's Buchhandlung. 1871.

<sup>16</sup> "A Memoir of Daniel Maclise, R.A." By W. Justin O'Driscoll, M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1871.

In 1832 he commenced his wonderful picture of "All Hallows Eve." From this period to his death he devoted himself to his art with ever-increasing ardour, producing numerous first-class pictures, many of which were not exhibited, besides three thousand studies and sketches. When the art works at Westminster Palace were determined on, Maclise was entrusted with the decoration of the Royal Gallery. Before he could complete the task he had undertaken, the contract was cancelled by the Commissioners, whose conduct to Maclise is regarded by Mr. O'Driscoll, his biographer, as flagrantly unjust. His last great work, "The Earls of Desmond and Ormonde," was exhibited in 1870. He died of an attack of acute pneumonia, in the April of that year. Mr. O'Driscoll has drawn up a memoir of a life in which the chief events were pictures, in a readable form, though the language is not always unexceptionable. He would have done better, for instance, if he had made Sir Walter Scott *predict*, instead of *predicate*, the distinction that awaited the subject of his book.

The "Historical Narratives" translated by Mr. H. C. Romanoff,<sup>17</sup> are, he assures us, compiled from sources of undoubted veracity. Three of them, "Court Jesters and their Weddings," "Count C. G. Razoumoffsky," "The Hetman of Little Russia under Catherine," and "Biron's Daughter," are translated from the original by S. N. Shoubsky; while "Catherine the Great," "The Prisoner of Schlussemburg," and the "Emperor Paul," are adaptations from the Russian of V. Andrèeff. The Narratives abound in curious and interesting details relating to Russian life and the Russian court, and to remarkable men and women, the instruments or the victims of Russian rule.

The review of public events at home and abroad, recorded in the "Annual Register" for the year 1870, is sufficiently circumstantial to be intelligible.<sup>18</sup> Besides the survey of domestic and foreign history, the volume contains a retrospect of literature, art, and science, written in a somewhat trenchant style; a chronicle of noteworthy occurrences, an obituary of eminent persons, reports of some of the most conspicuous trials, and a collection of public documents and State papers.

"The Dictionary of Biographical Reference" compiled by Mr. Laurence Phillips, contains above 100,000 names of more or less notable persons, with the dates of birth or deaths, and a statement rarely, if ever, extending beyond two lines, explaining their claim to a place in this compendium. Among the authorities consulted in the compilation of this work are the "Nouvelle Biographie Universelle," published by Didot Frères, Ersch and Gruber's "Encyclopædia," and Rose's "General Biographical Dictionary." The utility of such a compendium is obvious, and the research and patient endurance of labour requisite for its production can scarcely be over-estimated.

<sup>17</sup> "Historical Narratives from the Russian." By H. C. Romanoff, Author of "Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church." Rivingtons. London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1871.

<sup>18</sup> "The Annual Register for the Year 1870." New Series. London: Rivingtons. 1871.

Occasional inaccuracies, in a work of such bulk and of such detail must be allowed for; yet if Lynn be excusably misspelt Linn, the second name of Baur of Tübingen should hardly have been given as Christopher. The name of Baur's distinguished son-in-law, Edward Zeller, and that of our eminent countryman, Mr. Herbert Spencer, do not occur at all, and we look in vain for names of less note that have yet quite as much claim to a place in the roll-book of fame as some to which admission has been accorded. Then it is amusing to find a well-known Latin poet entered twice over, once as *Stace*, and once as Statius; and we would willingly dispense with such personages as Tros, King of Troy, B.C. 1320, or Derceto, King of Assyria, B.C. 1250.

A reprint of Mr. Hallam's valuable work on the state of Europe in the Middle Ages<sup>19</sup> is prejudiced by what appears to us questionable editorship. Passages have been omitted, remarks abbreviated, foot-notes to references left out, the author's corrections incorporated in the text, and information which could not be interwoven with the text relegated to the Supplemental Notes at the end of each chapter. In the execution of this task we do not doubt that the editor has done his best to render the work pretty much what he thinks Mr. Hallam himself might have rendered it. Nevertheless, however "available for the use of students" it may be, we cannot consent to accept it as a satisfactory or final revision. The editor complains in the preface of the injustice done Mr. Hallam by a reprint of the obsolete edition of 1816. To the best of our knowledge and belief, the work was first published in 1818, so that 1816 must, we suppose, be a misprint for 1826. To what extent the inaccuracies of Mr. Hallam have been corrected in this edition we are unable to say, but on reading in the text that the preaching of Peter the Hermit was powerfully *seconded* by Urban, we turned to the notes and were disappointed at not finding any mention of the protest entered by Sybel against the popular view of the inauguration of the First Crusade. To assist in correcting the dominant erroneous impression, we will quote a few words from that historian's "*Sagen und Gedichte über die Kreuzzüge*," which we borrow from Baur's "*Christliche Kirche*," vol. iii. p. 177:—"Der Ruhm Peter's des Eremiten ist ein weltgeschichtlicher geworden. Jahrhunderte lang hat kein Mensch es bezweifelt, das er dem Abendlande den entscheidenden Impuls zu den Kreuzzügen gegeben. Alles das hat keine Grundlage als die Lieder, die sonst kaum ein wahres Wort enthalten. Alle geschichtlichen Aufzeichnungen der Zeit widersprechen, allen ist Peter ein obscurer Fanatiker der erst nach dem Aufruf des Papstes sein Bauernheere gebildet hat."

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<sup>19</sup> "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages." By Henry Hallam, LL.D., F.R.A.S. Incorporating in the Text the Author's Latest Researches, with Additions from Recent Writers, and adapted to the Use of Students. By William Smith, D.C.L., LL.D. London: John Murray. 1871.



## BELLES LETTRES.

WE have had lately put into our hands a bundle of publishers' letters to novelists. We are of opinion that their publication might serve, not as guide, but as a warning to beginners in the novel line. They naturally divide themselves into two aspects, the business and the artistic. We are not now going to disclose any of the business secrets. We will merely say that we have looked in vain for that thousand pounds which all novelists make their hero earn by their first novel. We are concerned only with the purely literary view. From the publisher's stand-point there appear to be only two requirements for a novel: first, that it should be in three volumes; and secondly, that it should be crammed with sensation. These two literary canons are simple enough. We need not be surprised, too, that they are so popular. We, however, venture to affirm that they deal a death-blow to all really high artistic work. Art is sacrificed to trade. We do not for one moment mean to say, to take the first example before us, that Mr. Gibbon<sup>1</sup> has been influenced by any unworthy motives, but we do most emphatically say that he has spoilt one of the pleasantest stories by spinning it out into three volumes, and exploding in the last with a quantity of literary fizzgigs. But as it is with one, so it is now with nearly all novels. Mr. Gibbon begins for us with as sweet an idyll as has ever been written, and ends with a melodrama and blue-lights. Mr. Gibbon must himself be aware of his own powers. Why on earth should he then descend to the Wilkie Collins level? Mr. Gibbon can draw complex characters—characters full of tenderness and human love and pity, as seen in Angus Lamb and his mother, and Annie Blair; why then should he borrow the sensation scenes of a thoroughly vicious school of art? It is because we perceive such really rare qualities in Mr. Gibbon that we speak so plainly. He has spoilt a really beautiful story. We trust, however, that we may yet see him do justice to his powers.

We believe that there are a great number of excellent persons who are under the delusion that "Hamilton Aïdé"<sup>2</sup> is the assumed name of some young lady. Some justification may be found for the belief. Mr. Aïdé's novels are marked by many of the characteristics which are associated with ladies' writings. If we compare him with Trollope, we shall find that his strokes are far more fine and delicate. His love-scenes have tenderer passages. He notes small village life with a more observant eye. He lets us into the little details of domestic economy, much as Miss Austen might do. He gives, too, family anecdotes, such as women love to treasure up. Further, he carefully abstains from all that is vulgar and "horsy," and an air of refinement is thrown over all which he writes. These characteristics may all be

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<sup>1</sup> "The Lack of Gold: a Novel." By Charles Gibbon. In Three Volumes. London: Blackie and Son. 1871.

<sup>2</sup> "In that State of Life." By Hamilton Aïdé. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1871.



found in the very charming story which he has just produced. The character of Sir Andrew Herrieson, whose family was so intolerably proud, yet not too proud to add to its wealth by marriages with plebeian heiresses—"tall chimneys," as they are called in the north of England—is a sketch in which Mr. Aïdé always excels. Again, the description of the interview between Maud and the butler in the second-class railway carriage is one of those bits which prove how minute is his observation in all matters of detail. The same may be said of all the scenes which immediately follow, when Maud enters upon her duties as second lady's-maid at Becknorth House. Let anybody sit down and try to give the details of a lady's-maid's life, especially under the peculiar circumstances in which Maud is placed, and with such a virago as Mrs. Rouse over her, and they will soon discover the difficulties. But it is here that Mr. Aïdé triumphs. We shall not spoil the reader's pleasure by telling him the way in which Mr. Aïdé undoes the knot which he has so skillfully tied. We shall simply say that the last chapters in the book are by far the most interesting.

"A Snapt Gold Ring"<sup>3</sup> is, if we may venture to say so, a Bohemian novel. But it is not unpleasantly Bohemian. We are never actually brought into Bohemia, and are never introduced to Perdita. But Ringley and Warner are unmistakeable Bohemians, of a higher class, however, than we generally meet. It is the old story, which will go on repeating itself as long as there are artists and poets in this world, and pretty faces to enchant them. Our Shelleys will, to the end of time, fall in love with simple girls who cannot understand them. And so ensues the tragedy of life, ending only in death. Mr. Wedmore's book is full of life and spirit; there is not a dull page. It abounds with sparkling criticism on men, books, and pictures. It is, in short, the very reverse of the ordinary circulating novel. The portion which we care least for is that which relates to the Scarborough Theatre. We are impatient to go back to the principal characters, and consequently do not care much for Mr. Buckingham Crabbe and the triumphant success which finally awaits Kate. The theatrical scenes are well done and life-like; but we feel that they are an intrusion. Our whole attention is centred, as it should be, on the career of the hero. The character of Warner is excellent. He is drawn with a really masterly skill. It is, however, not till the latter part of the second volume that the author's great dramatic power has full scope to display itself. The intrigue with Mrs. Grayling is admirably painted. It is thoroughly true to nature, and yet there is no pandering to vice. What such a story would have been in the hands of French novelists, or in some of their English imitators, we may faintly guess. It is highly to Mr. Wedmore's credit that he has the boldness to paint such scenes, and yet to treat them in such a way that they cannot possibly give the slightest offence. In conclusion, let us strongly recommend "A Snapt Gold Ring," no less for its brightness and knowledge of the world, than for the lessons which it inculcates.

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<sup>3</sup> "A Snapt Gold Ring." By Frederick Wedmore. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1871.

"*Tales of the North Riding*,"<sup>4</sup> by Stephen Yorke, is, to use a vulgar phrase, somewhat of "a take in." In the first place, it is not a novel, as might be supposed from its outward appearance. In the second place, it might just as well be called "*Tales of the North Pole*," as far as local colouring is concerned. In the third place, we doubt if it is written by "Stephen Yorke." In the fourth place, the author shows such a knowledge of "light-blue grenadine," "maroon-coloured satin," "amber *moire-antique*," and other feminine gear, that we doubt if it is written by a man. If the author means to give us any more of these "*Tales of the North Riding*," we should advise her to at once commence a study of Atkinson's "*Cleveland Dialect*." She might just as well imagine that such a line as

"Emma! *fer chartam, calamos, et inkum*."

would give a classical tone to her book, as that a few north-country provincialisms, used at haphazard, would give her stories a local colouring. In the second place, if she means to write any more tales, whether of the North Riding or anywhere else, she must unlearn some of her views about human nature. "*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*," says the Roman satirist. Still more true is it that only by slow degrees do people attain habits of goodness and self-restraint. There are but few of those sudden reformations in real life, such as the authoress has here painted for us. Setting these faults aside, there is much to praise in these tales. The tone is good, and the style is especially graceful. The country scenes, especially those in the second volume, of farmhouse life, are carefully painted. The writer has a true love for nature, and excels in description. We think that if she will only give herself fair play, she may achieve a real success in novel-writing. We should advise her, however, to carefully abstain from any mere literary artifices, or any sensational devices, and to trust to her own quiet style.

"*St. Michael's Priory*"<sup>5</sup> is an average novel, which is, from its want of any salient points, rather difficult to describe. The story runs on, with the exception of one or two sensation scenes, in a praiseworthy fashion, without, however, any special beauty of style or thought. We do not find ourselves turning back to any special passage for its wit or descriptive power. Still it is pleasant enough reading, and may serve to while away a rainy afternoon. The author's strongest point is the analysis of the rather superficial feelings of a woman of an ordinary commonplace type. Here and there, too, we find little satirical descriptions of that love of dress, which few women are quite without, or would be quite perfect without.

"*Shoemaker's Village*,"<sup>6</sup> which gives its name to Mr. Holbeach's

<sup>4</sup> "*Tales of the North Riding*." By Stephen Yorke. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1871.

<sup>5</sup> "*St. Michael's Priory: a Novel*." By Mary Mudie. London: Chapman and Hall. 1871.

<sup>6</sup> "*Shoemaker's Village*." By Henry Holbeach. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.

story, is a sort of No-Man's Land. "The Village," as it was also called, its peculiarities, its inhabitants, their peculiar food, are all photographed with a minuteness of detail which in any other writer would become wearisome. The subtle humour, however, of the author lights up every chapter. The characters are by no means so uniform as might be imagined. The women are especially well done, from "Cherry White," "who reminded one of a mountain birch, fresh with the rains and the breezes of the hill-range," to Madame Célestine the Clairvoyante. We had marked several passages for quotation, but find that we have no space left. We must therefore content ourselves with calling attention to this very simple yet delightful tale, overflowing with humour which is entirely its own.

"The Home at Heatherbrae"<sup>7</sup> cannot be compared with the "Shoemaker's Village" in literary qualities. The author of the former book is a perfect master of style and the conduct of a story. Still "Heatherbrae" will doubtless find many readers, especially amongst the young, for whom it would seem to be especially intended. We think, however, that the authoress in her next production would do well to avoid such feeble jokes as we too constantly find in "Heatherbrae."

"The Green-Eyed Monster"<sup>8</sup> tells its own tale. We think it is somewhat bold to challenge comparison with "Othello" and the "Winter's Tale" by such a title. The writer is, we suppose, a lady. At least we judge so by the following very feminine passage:—"The train was just starting as he reached the station, in hot haste. The engine-driver saw him running breathlessly, and put back for him. He sprang in and was off" (p. 165). We think the directors of the line would be thankful for a little more information from the authoress. But it is not one whit more absurd than we find in the generality of ladies' novels. Here is a delightful passage at the commencement of "Your Cousin's Ghost:"<sup>9</sup>—"Invest all my money in ——— Bank in London, and mind you make it payable to me and *me alone* when I call for it. I mean the ready money part of my fortune, which I know amounts to about fifty thousand pounds" (p. 33). What on earth is meant by "investing" money in a London bank, which money is to be called for? Does the authoress mean that the money is to be invested in bank shares, or, what is a very different matter, merely put to the particular person's credit?

"Wayland Well"<sup>10</sup> is a novel with a purpose, though we are by no means quite sure that we have succeeded in unravelling it. The writer's tolerance and evident sincerity make us feel lenient towards some of its peculiar religious tenets, which, we suppose, we may fairly describe as High Church. Of one thing, however, we feel quite sure, that we should not meet with such a sentence as we find in Mrs.

<sup>7</sup> "The Home at Heatherbrae: a Tale." By the Author of "Everley." London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1871.

<sup>8</sup> "The Green-Eyed Monster." By Kay Spen, Author of "True of Heart." London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1871.

<sup>9</sup> "Your Cousin's Ghost." By Mrs. Wilkin. London: Chapman and Hall. 1871.

<sup>10</sup> "Wayland Well." By C. A. M. W. London: J. T. Hayes. 1871.

Wilkin's "Your Cousin's Ghost"—"Selfishness is a predominant feature of love" (p. 271). What sort of love this is we leave Mrs. Wilkin to explain. It is certainly not the love which we find in "Wayland Well"—not the love which bears such fruits as self-denial and patience. We can fairly recommend "Wayland Well" as a novel of life and character, though we in no way commit ourselves to some of its religious views.

Poets are an excessively difficult class of persons to deal with. The slightest criticism stirs them up into a white heat of rage. Like Isaac Walton's worm, they require delicate handling when they are put on the hook. We must once again protest that we mean nothing personal by our remarks. When we say that a man's verses are bad we do not intend to make any insinuation against his honour or his grandmother's honour. Here for instance is a Major Noake.<sup>11</sup> Everybody who differs from him is a reviler and a calumniator. Drinking, fighting, and abusing are the themes of his delightful book. We must say we prefer the abuse. There is a certain monotony in the Major's drinking and fighting. But his abuse is as varied as the persons whom he reviles. Lord Hartington, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Trevelyan, in short, everybody who has attempted to improve the condition of the British soldier, is attacked. Even such publications as the *Contemporary Review* and *Good Words* do not escape. What our own fate will be we dare not even conjecture. But "if Lucy is lousie, then sing Lucy lousie whatever befall it." This is the kind of thing by which the Major would inspire the British soldier:—

"At Salamanca, Fuentes,  
The Nive and Neville, Pyrencees,  
At Waterloo they tore the bays  
From brow of Gallic foes,  
The Cameronian Highlanders."

"Bays," we must notice, must either be pronounced "bees" or "boes," according to the reader's discretion. We are much afraid that the Major will not earn them by his pen, whatever the Cameronian Highlanders may have done with their swords. But it seems to be a fixed principle with the Major that the British soldier is to be inspired by bad rhymes. Here is another heart-stirring address:—

"Come, follow, my lads,  
Trust alone to your blades,  
And the battle will soon be our own."

The advice, we must admit, is excellent, and we only wish that the rhyme was half as good. Now we have no desire to part on ill terms with the Major. In a queer sort of fashion he evidently has the soldiers' interests at heart. We would therefore venture to suggest to him not to print any more poetry for them.

Upon what grounds nine-tenths of our poets publish their nonsense it would be very difficult for even them to say. "Had he no other

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<sup>11</sup> "The Bivouac; or, Martial Lyrist. Containing Songs, Epigrams, and Poems." By Major R. Compton Noake. London: Chapman and Hall. 1871.

choice than either to be hanged or write poetry?" said a well known critic. We suppose that none of the authors of the little thin octavos before us have had this alternative presented to them. Alceste, in "*Le Misanthrope*," says that the only excuse for writing bad poetry is the plea of making a livelihood. But no one could possibly make a living out of such rubbish as we receive every quarter. Take, for instance, a single stanza from Mr. Wentworth's "*Amos Thorne*"<sup>12</sup>—

"Wealth is waste, unwed with want,  
Want is wealth, if wed with power:  
When the waning power is sent,  
Waxing want is passion's dower."—(p. 62.)

What this may mean we have not the faintest conception. To us it looks as if Mr. Wentworth had tried to collect as many ws together as possible, and to perform the same service for that letter as was performed for the Roman v in the lines on Viole, Bishop of Burgogne, commencing—

"Vim vernæ vi læ visu veneramur vtroque."

Of "*John Jerningham's Journal*"<sup>13</sup> a single specimen will suffice. Here is the author's description of an archery meeting—

"Toxopholites degenerate  
To me they seemed that merry band;  
They mostly were effeminate,  
And did not strive to understand."—(p. 27.)

People can of course write what nonsense they please; but they really should for their own sakes keep it in private, and not expose it to the public.

'G. E. D.'<sup>14</sup> is, we must suppose, very young. He has evidently a keen eye for nature, and a good ear. But his pieces all want, if we may so speak, backbone. His verses will often not stand the test of examination. Here, for instance, are the introductory lines to a very pretty lyrical piece, called "*Thought and Afterthought*"—

"Through the wood I wander  
With a vague intent:  
Hyacinths blow yonder  
Wonderful for scent."—(p. 24.)

For our own part we should certainly not have imagined that the bluebell of the woods (*Hyacinthus non-scriptus*) was wonderful for its scent. So, again, such lines as—

"Rich harvest reaped the Reaper  
Whose name is Death"—(p. 36)

are hardly original. Surely a poet called Longfellow has said something of the sort.

Here is our old friend Mr. Laughton Osborn again with another

<sup>12</sup> "*Amos Thorne: and other Poems.*" By Paul Wentworth. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.

<sup>13</sup> "*John Jerningham's Journal.*" London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1871.

<sup>14</sup> "*A Song of Cædmon: and other Poems.*" By G. E. D. Oxford: Wheeler and Day. 1871.



play.<sup>15</sup> We indeed say another play, but we by no means feel sure that we have not already read it. At all events, what we have said on two previous occasions is perfectly applicable to the present play. There is a great flow of language, but poverty of thought. There is some dramatic power, but not enough to raise the story above the pitch of an average playwright. Lastly, there is so much real learning, such critical insight displayed in the notes, that we deeply regret that the author should so thoroughly have wasted his time and powers. Not content with a play, Mr. Laughton Osborn has sent us a sort of novel in verse.<sup>16</sup> It contains the most wonderful advertisement or preface which we ever remember to have read. We cannot follow Mr. Laughton Osborn in his account of his dealings with various publishers, nor can we discuss the question whether he or Mr. Yates has the priority in inventing "the peculiar colour of the heroine's eyes." Mr. Laughton Osborn's woes seem numerous, and he takes up his burden again in his notes. We will endeavour to console him to the best of our power, with the lines from "Lauriger Horatius"—

"Crescit uva molliter et puella erescit,  
Sed poeta turpiter sitiens canescit."

Of course we need not tell Mr. Laughton Osborn that "sitiens" does not here refer to mere physical thirst, but to that noble aspiration after fame which has made him run apparently all over the world for a publisher. We forgot to say that the poem itself is very tedious reading, after the preface.

It would not be very difficult, perhaps, to show why religious poetry is in these days so very poor, but it would require too much space. Judging it as religious poetry, we miss that inward spiritual feeling which is its proper "note." There is nothing of the "*vera cordis gaudia*," as Bernard says, in the "*De Nomine Jesu*." Mr. Tilston's "*Sacrifice of Isaac*"<sup>17</sup> is certainly above the average, but he paints too much from the surface. Of the inner workings and struggles of the mind and conscience we learn nothing. Mr. Tilston is evidently an observer of nature. There are one or two descriptive passages which are not without a real feeling of love for the fields and woods. His great fault—and there cannot be a greater one in a religious writer—is a certain affectation. He is too fond of painting with the big brush. Thus he talks of "the lightnings of the busy brooks" (p. 35); and of thorns "stinging" (p. 55).

The same remarks may be applied, as far as the spiritual portion is concerned, to Mr. Coster's "*Rhyme of Peter's Fall*."<sup>18</sup> His poems read to us as most sermons do. There is nothing particular in them to distinguish them from a thousand more of the same class. They

<sup>15</sup> "*The Montanini: a Comedy. Being in Continuation of the Fourth Volume of the Dramatic Series.*" By Laughton Osborn. New York: James Miller. 1868.

<sup>16</sup> "*Alice; or, the Painter's Story.*" By Laughton Osborn. New York: Doolady. 1867.

<sup>17</sup> "*The Sacrifice of Isaac: a Poem.*" By the Rev. Thomas Tilston. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1871.

<sup>18</sup> "*The Rhyme of St. Peter's Fall.*" By the Rev. G. T. Coster. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1871.

are good and excellent, yet they fail somehow to make any impression. The great characteristic of the hymns of the eighth and ninth centuries, and in a less degree those of the twelfth, is their intense earnestness. It is this that has given them strength to live till the present day. It is this that has breathed into them the power which affects us as we read them at this very moment. One or two of Mr. Coster's poems may be mentioned with a sort of qualified praise. If there are no particular merits, there are at least no glaring faults. A quaint little piece, called "St. Andrew," commends itself most to us.

If, however, on the one hand there is so much worthless poetry published, yet it must be admitted that the general standard of excellence has certainly risen. And although much of our second-class poetry may be mere imitation, mere vague desire, "which spurs the imitative will," yet there is to be found in it a greater love and a deeper reverence for nature than in much of the best poetry of the generation immediately preceding Wordsworth. A little volume by two authors<sup>19</sup> has led us into these remarks. It is full of a pure love for nature, delicately and fancifully expressed, and yet we feel by no means sure that it will attract any attention, so great is the difficulty of rising above the crowd. Here, for instance, is a little piece called an "Invitation":—

"Come to the river-bank with me,  
For there are plumèd ferns of crescent green,  
And in the wine-dark pools are seen  
The crimson-spotted trout.  
Hush! hush! move through the banks most silently,  
Vex with no loud unhallow'd shout  
The holy secrecy of this sweet glade,  
And you shall see  
The dipper rush with sudden flash, and fade  
Into the woodland screen;  
Nor shall you by your presence make afraid  
The kingfisher, who looks down dreamily  
At his own shadow gorgeously arrayed."—(p. 18.)

Perhaps it is, in a passage of this kind, a mistake to use "crescent" for growing, increasing, although the author may plead Shakspeare's authority. Nor do we feel quite sure that "sudden flash" rightly describes the water-ouzel's flight, although it accurately gives the appearance of the white star on its breast, when seen hopping about from stone to stone under some thick-leaved bank. But the beauty of the whole passage is unmistakeable. The two last lines present a perfect picture. We will not undertake to decide upon the respective merits of the two authors; we will merely say, "Et vitulâ tu dignus, et hic."

The same characteristics, leaving out the coarseness which marked Walt Whitman's poetry, may to a certain extent be found in Mr. Miller's.<sup>20</sup> He observes nature at first hand. Like Whitman he

<sup>19</sup> "Madrigals, Songs, and Sonnets." By John Arthur Blackie and Edmund William Gosse. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1870.

<sup>20</sup> "Songs of the Sierras." By Joaquin Miller. London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer. 1871.

reminds us of no one else. A rough wild humour gives infinite spirit to his strongly-marked, though by no means highly-finished characters. They behave not like men whom we are accustomed to meet, but still like men whom we can very well imagine living amongst the backwoods and mountains. He presents them to us in the rough. They chew and spit. Still they are men. The same may be said of his sketches of nature. They are thoroughly fresh and original, drawn with free bold strokes. Those who overlooked the great faults in Whitman's poetry for the picturesque style, the vigorous metaphors, the clear-cut descriptions of scenery, and that thorough zest for nature in the backwoods and wilds, will welcome and enjoy Mr. Miller. A short specimen of his rough quaint style will, however, convey a clearer notion of his poetry than pages of our description. Here, then, is a pre-Raphaelite picture:—

“Two little girls, with brown feet bare,  
And tangled, tossing, yellow hair,  
Play'd on the green, fantastic drest,  
Around a great Newfoundland brute,  
That lay half-resting on his breast,  
And with his red mouth open'd wide,  
Would make believe that he would bite,  
As they assailed him left and right,  
And then sprang to the other side,  
And filled with shouts the willing air.”—(p. 176.)

Natural, unaffected poetry of this kind is rare in the literature of any country, and America may well be proud of having discovered a new poet in Mr. Miller. But unfortunately Mr. Miller is not true to himself. In the first place, he has written far too much. In the second, he often allows his great dramatic power to sink into mere bombast. Mr. Miller must use far more self-restraint than he does at present, or else he will most assuredly disappoint the hopes of his friends and admirers.

Mr. Stephen's “*Convict Once*”<sup>21</sup> is in many ways a very remarkable poem. We do not think that he has been happy in the choice of his metre. Trochees and tribrachs are in English apt to become sing-songy. Yet we must give Mr. Stephens great credit for his management of an unmanageable metre. We cannot, however, without large extracts do justice to his really masterly analysis of the feelings and the struggles of passion and conscience in the character of the heroine. Here he pre-eminently shines. In this consists the real value of the book. To show the delicacy of his touch we must give two short extracts. Here is a description of a young girl's feelings at the first approach of love:—

“Saddened, yet listlessly happy; ah, well I remember the token!  
Well I remember the oxymel mingling of pleasure and pain!  
Some face hath gleamed upon hers, and the sleep of her childhood is  
broken.  
Hardly she knows as yet whether to rise or to slumber again.”

<sup>21</sup> “*Convict Once.*” A Poem. By J. Brunton Stephens. London: Macmillan and Co. 1871.

The image in the last line is exquisitely delicate. Here, too, is a sketch of a woodland and river scene :—

“Wandering to-day by the river where refuge is greenest and coolest,  
Watching beneath me the moving mosaic of shadow and sheen.”

We think the truth of this picture of the “moving mosaic” will be at once recognised by all. But it is not in these detached pieces that Mr. Stephens’s strength lies, but in his delineation of character. The story as a story is excellently managed. It is as far more interesting than ninety-nine novels out of a hundred, as it is superior to them in power, worth, and beauty. We should most strongly advise everybody to read “Convict Once,” a piece of advice we seldom venture upon in respect to poetry.

Mr. Weeks<sup>22</sup> is, we suppose, an American, and also, we should suppose, a very young man. His poems show that imitative power and “vague desire,” of which we have spoken, and which somehow never fulfils itself, and remains mere desire and imitation. His poems are pretty, but prettiness is a very poor quality by itself. They show taste and refinement, but at present no originality. Mr. Weeks is evidently passionately fond of the country and country scenes. He is continually singing of them. Yet his pieces leave no other impression upon us than that he likes the month of May, and the streams, and the fields, and the flowers, and the sunsets. He does not make us like them. He has nothing new to tell us, except that he, Mr. Weeks, likes them, which may be affirmed of most cultivated men. Perhaps Mr. Weeks’s love and “vague desire” may sometime or another take shape in the form of real poetry and thought. At present he only shows a flow of language and a certain gift for versification.

There are indications not wanting that the novel in prose will find a rival in the novel in verse. Mr. Stephens’s “Convict Once” is decidedly the best specimen which we have seen, and “John Jerningham’s Journal,” with its wretched attempts to describe croquet and other country amusements, the worst. Mr. Statham’s “Eucharis”<sup>23</sup> holds a middle place between the two. He does not indeed possess Mr. Stephens’s power of versification, and does not approach him in his subtle analysis of character and of the workings of conscience. Yet, on the other hand, he never falls into the absolute baldness of “John Jerningham’s Journal.” Mr. Statham’s blank verse is only tolerably good. It is too much machine-made. It reads as if it were cut into lengths by a measuring rule. Here and there a touch of humour pleasantly lights up a passage. The satire, too, is, shrewd and keen. We think, however, that it would have been well if the writer had made his views upon marriage somewhat plainer, so that there might have been no necessity for his apologetic preface.

We very much doubt if the public will appreciate Mr. Payne’s “Intaglios.”<sup>24</sup> They are not for everybody. Blake, the most spiritual of poets,

<sup>22</sup> “Episodes and Lyric Pieces.” By Robert Kelly Weeks. London : Trübner and Co. 1870.

<sup>23</sup> “Eucharis.” A Poem. By F. Reginald Statham. London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1871.

<sup>24</sup> “Intaglios.” Sonnets. By John Payne, Author of “The Masque of Shadows.” London : Basil Montagu Pickering. 1871.

is little read. Griffin's "Fidessa"—sonnets in part akin to these—is totally forgotten except by scholars. "As moonlight is to sunlight, and as water is to wine," will the public regard Mr. Payne's mystical and shadowy verses compared with the more objective treatment of other poets. But the question may be fairly asked, has not moonlight its own peculiar beauty, such as the sun can never give? Are there not moods, too, in which we prefer water to any wine? Mr. Payne belongs to what we may call, for want of a better name, the Rossetti school. His chief characteristics are an exquisite tenderness and delicacy both of thought and of melody, a certain mystical tone and solemnity, and a severely cultivated beauty of expression. Now none of these great qualities are likely just now to attract the public. Our taste is utterly spoilt by cheap flashy writing. Our novels, our histories, our newspapers, are infested by a thoroughly vicious style. We have not space to do justice to Mr. Payne's great merits, but to those who can read between the lines, the following delicious lyric will speak for itself:—

Rococo.

"Straight and swift the swallows fly  
To the sojourn of the sun;  
All the golden year is done,  
All the flower-time flitted by;  
Through the boughs the witch-winds sigh:  
But heart's summer is begun;  
Life and love at last are one;  
Love-lights glitter in the sky.  
Summer days were soon outrun  
With the setting of the sun:  
Love's delight is never done.  
Let the turn-coat roses die;  
We are lovers, Love and I:  
In Love's lips my roses lie."—(p. 23.)

We cannot, however, part with Mr. Payne without calling attention to the way in which he, like Mr. Rossetti and Mr. Morris, has reset many of our long-forgotten but beautiful expressions and archaisms. Here, for instance, is one—

"As I went walking in the air one day—  
Sadly enough—a thought laid hold on me  
With flower-soft hands."—(p. 3.)

Readers of Elizabethan literature will at once recognise this beautiful and expressive compound epithet, which Shakspeare has embalmed in "Antony and Cleopatra" in his description of the barge, when—

"The silken tackle  
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands."—(Act ii. sc. 2.)

Once more, Mr. Morris thus concludes his beautiful sonnet on Lecomte de Lisle's Prose Translation of Homer,—a sonnet which may worthily be put side by side with Keats's sonnet on Chapman's Translation:—

"So hast thou, poet from the tropic isles—  
Coming, breast-armour'd with the gold sun's smiles



Into our Northland,—set old Homer free  
From all the tangling coil of modern rhyme,  
And loosed the sheer song on us like a sea.”—(p. 26.)

Here Mr. Morris has rescued for us that good, expressive, Old-English word “*shcer*” (pure, clear), used by Spenser and Shakspeare, and their contemporaries. It has long since been forgotten, and is now only used as a provincialism in some of the wildest moorlands of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Mr. Morris writes in the true spirit of that old poet—namesake of Homer’s translator—who more than two centuries and a half ago thus spoke—“a writer that dares venter, and is desirous to enrich his mother-tongue, decketh it boldly with that which he borroweth of others, (and) setteth forgotten words on foote againe.”—(Lisle, *Translation of Du Bartas* [1625] p. 71, footnote.)

Here we may fitly call attention to a very fair collection of Scotch poetry.<sup>25</sup> Very few Englishmen, and very few Scotchmen, too, we may add, know the real wealth of the poetical literature of Scotland. The collections of Ritson, Watson, Sibbald, Herd, and Jamieson, are rare and expensive. The present collection appears to be very fairly compiled. Generally speaking, the antiquarian has no taste for poetry, whilst the poet possesses no antiquarian knowledge. The present editor combines both the tastes of the poet and the antiquary. The only fault which we have to find, is that he gives us rather too many selections from authors whose works are within the reach of all. We should have been glad to have seen more pieces from the earlier writers, and from such sterling poets as Sir Robert Aiton and Drummond of Hawthornden. It is certainly a mistake to omit “*There is no worldly pleasure here below*” of the former, and “*Thence happy he who by some shady grove*” of the latter. We think, too, that the addition of short glossarial notes at the foot of the page, especially to the earlier pieces, would have been of the greatest use to the English reader, who is often deterred from reading Scotch poetry by the difficulty which he encounters in understanding the words. On the whole, we can speak most favourably of the present collection. We hope that in a second edition the editor and publishers may be induced to consider our suggestions, and then their work need fear no rival.

Among the miscellaneous books before us, a very high place must be assigned to the Rev. C. J. Smith’s “*Synonyms Discriminated*.”<sup>26</sup> Few can appreciate the labours of the dictionary-maker. As Scaliger said, “*Omnes pænarum facies hic labor unus habet.*” And though such a book as this can only be properly judged by the test of using it continually, yet we may venture to say from the slight inspection which we have been able to bestow, that it is eminently satisfactory in all the main points. The definitions are to the purpose. None but

<sup>25</sup> “*The Songs of Scotland.*” Chronologically Arranged, with Introduction and Biographical Notes. London: Bell and Daldy. 1871.

<sup>26</sup> “*Synonyms Discriminated.* A Complete Catalogue of Synonymous Words in the English Language. By C. J. Smith, M.A., Vicar of Erith. London: Bell and Daldy. 1871.

the best authors are quoted. Lastly, the derivations are sound. The book ought to be in every good library. To the foreigner, who is so constantly confused by our English synonyms, and who naturally cannot appreciate the slight shades of difference, the work will be of enormous value.

Everybody who knows anything about the Shakspearian literature of the last few years knows the obligations which Shakspearian students owe Mr. Rushton. His "Shakspeare Illustrated by Old Authors" is one of the most delightful books of its kind, worthy for its learning and out-of-the-way reading to be put on the same shelf with Mr. Halliwell's "Selected Notes." Mr. Rushton there threw much unsuspected light upon obscure passages, and illustrated with remarkable felicity those old customs, bits of folk-lore, proverbs and expressions, which are so puzzling to the acutest reader. In his present work, "Shakspeare's Euphuism,"<sup>27</sup> a title, by the way, which does not convey any idea of the book, Mr. Rushton has endeavoured, with equal success, to work out his previous idea, concentrating, however, all his power of illustration upon a single work of a single author. And here let us say that the great want of the book is want of arrangement. There is not even an index. To find a particular passage we must wade through the whole book. An alphabetical order is better than none. There should, however, be indexes, both of the words themselves and of the phrases, as well as the principal subjects which are illustrated. We think, too, that Mr. Rushton would have done well to have written a short introduction. As the book now stands, inexperienced readers are very likely to run away with totally wrong ideas as to the relationship between Shakspeare's plays and Lily's "Euphues." They will imagine, upon reading the parallel passages, which Mr. Rushton has with so much skill placed side by side, that Shakspeare was in a peculiar manner indebted to the "Euphues," whereas, in truth, both authors simply reflected the common ideas of the day, and reproduced the current learning of the hour, though in some cases Shakspeare may have been indebted to Lily for some of his thoughts and images. Thus, to make our meaning plain, we will take one or two illustrations. At page 11, Mr. Rushton illustrates "to goe against the hair," or, as we should now say, "to go against the grain," by a passage from the "Euphues." A reader who was not acquainted with the Elizabethan literature would go away convinced that there was a mysterious connexion between the two authors, whereas the phrase may be found in the dictionaries of the day, as in Minshew's Spanish and English Dictionary [1599], under *Apospelo*. So, too, on the next page, Mr. Rushton illustrates the well-known line

"Far from her nest the lapwing cries away,"

by a very apt quotation from the "Euphues." But the use of the simile is in no way peculiar, as the unlearned reader would suppose,

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<sup>27</sup> "Shakspeare's Euphuism." By William Lowes Rushton, Barrister-at-Law, Author of "Shakspeare Illustrated by Old Authors." London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1871.

to either Lily or Shakspeare. It may be found in Nash's "Have with you to Saffron Walden" [1596], at page 62 of Mr. Collier's reprint, and in Decker's "Villainies Discovered" [1616], sig. G, 3 verso. Again, at page 14, Mr. Rushton illustrates the passage in the "First Part of King Henry VI." (act i. sc. 1), "comets importing change of times and states" by a passage from the "Euphues." But the notion may be found, as Mr. Rushton knows, though many of his readers will not, throughout Elizabethan literature. In 1618 there appeared a very curious little work, not mentioned in Lowndes, "A Treatise of Blazing Starres in General," which in chaps. x. and xi. expressly treats of the "mischiefes which Blazing starres forewarn to ensue," and of "Sundry examples and testimonies declaring the divers and manifold mischiefs which have followed the appearing of Blazing Starres." We might extend our remarks to several of the archaic words which Mr. Rushton has illustrated from Lily. He, of course, knows that they are not peculiar either to Shakspeare or Lily. But this is precisely what the general reader does not know. It is from the want of special knowledge that all such fictions as that Shakspeare was a sailor, or that he was Lord Bacon, are so readily believed. In conclusion, Mr. Rushton's is a most valuable contribution to Shakspearian literature, and some of the parallel passages, as those at page 46, in connexion with the famous speech of Polonius in "Hamlet," are very remarkable. We deeply regret, however, that he has not added any comments of his own, to prevent the unwary reader from falling into the pitfalls which such a book unintentionally offers.

"The Passion Play at Ammergau,"<sup>28</sup> is a reprint of a paper in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which attracted considerable notice by the vividness and picturesqueness of its style. Mr. Sellar has acted wisely in giving it a separate existence. His critical remarks at the conclusion especially deserve attention. But are we always to take him at the foot of the letter? Here is a passage which cannot be meant as literally true, and if it is not literally true, it is decidedly in bad taste:—"You saw the soldiers break the bones of the two thieves with great wooden bludgeons, and carry their dead bodies away. They pierced Christ's side with a spear, and blood gushed out mingled with water" (p. 48). This reads a little too much in the *Daily Telegraph* style.

Amongst editions of the classics, we most especially call attention to Mr. Tyrrell's "Bacchæ of Euripides."<sup>29</sup> The Introduction is especially valuable, more particularly the third section relating to the religious and moral import of the play. Too much attention is generally given to minute critical points, and "Hamlet" is entirely left out in editions of the Greek Tragedians. It is, therefore, with especial pleasure that we call attention to Mr. Tyrrell's most able

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<sup>28</sup> "The Passion Play in the Highlands of Bavaria." By Alexander Craig Sellar. London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1871.

<sup>29</sup> "The Bacchæ of Euripides." With a Revision of the Text and a Commentary. By Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer. 1871.

analysis of the inner meaning of the play. We wish that we could persuade him to perform a similar task with regard to the collective plays, and show the true aim of Euripides, and his proper position in reference to his two great contemporaries. This Introduction most conclusively proves to us how well fitted Mr. Tyrrell is for such a task, a much nobler and higher undertaking than settling the value of a particular reading.

Of course there is no necessity for pronouncing a formal eulogy on Mr. Blaydes's<sup>30</sup> scholarship. We deeply regret that he should have selected the *Philoctetes* on which to exercise his critical acumen and ingenuity. It is, in our opinion, the weakest and least interesting of the plays of Sophocles.

We gladly welcome two new volumes of the series of "Ancient Classics for English Readers."<sup>31</sup> Surely, however, setting Sir Alexander Grant to "do" Xenophon, is like setting a race-horse to draw a cart. We certainly think that Sir Alexander Grant's rare talents and genius might find employment in higher and worthier work.

Of other translations we will merely say, that M. C.'s attempt to turn "The First Book of the Odes of Horace"<sup>32</sup> into English verse is a wretched failure. Those who still trifle with the Latin Muses, may be advised to add Mr. Almack's dainty little volume<sup>33</sup> to their collections.

We need scarcely feel surprised that Germany still continues to pour forth her songs of triumph. "*Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz*,"<sup>34</sup> contains in a small compass a very full collection. Amongst so many that are excellent we may especially particularize the poems by Geibel and Freiligrath. We are glad to see a reprint of those striking lines to Strasburg, which created so great a sensation when they first appeared in the *Kladderadatsch* last August. Lastly, let us call attention to the deep feeling of thankfulness which marks so many of these poems.

Herr Gerstel,<sup>35</sup> who is one of the contributors to "*Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz*," has brought out a volume of poems. A quaint fancy, a delicate expression, and a love for nature and children are their chief characteristics.

Herr Hüll,<sup>36</sup> who is also another of the contributors to the "*Lieder*,"

<sup>30</sup> "The *Philoctetes* of Sophocles." Critically Revised with the Aid of MSS. Newly Collated and Explained. By Frederick H. M. Blaydes, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1870.

<sup>31</sup> I. (Ancient Classics for English Readers Series.) "Xenophon." By Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., LL.D., Principal of the University of Edinburgh. II. "Æschylus." By Reginald S. Copleston, B.A. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1871.

<sup>32</sup> "The Odes of Horace." Book I. Translated into English Verse by M. C. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo. 1871.

<sup>33</sup> "Versiculi Aliquot Latini." By William Almack, of St. John's College, Cambridge, and one of the Masters of Bradfield College. London: Rivingtons. 1871.

<sup>34</sup> *Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz. Aus der Zeit des Krieges in dem Jahren, 1870 und 1871.* Gesammelt und herausgegeben von Franz Lipperheide. Berlin: Franz Lipperheide. 1871.

<sup>35</sup> "Gedichte." Von Gustav Gerstel. Berlin: Franz Lipperheide. 1871.

<sup>36</sup> "Schwert und Harfe." Gedichte von Johannes Hüll. Berlin: Franz Lipperheide. 1871.

has also sent us a separate volume. His pieces have a more immediate bearing upon the war than Herr Gerstel's. They are marked by that deep pathos and reverential feeling which, as we have before remarked, has been such a prominent feature in German literature during the war. We must give a word of especial praise to two short poems: "Weihnachtsabend, 1870," and a little piece beginning "Leb' wohl du lieber Tannenwald."

We gladly welcome a single work from Paris.<sup>37</sup> We can do no more at the end of this section than recommend it in general terms to all our readers.

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## ART.

DR. Ernst Förster's "History of Italian Painting," the first volume of which we noticed at the time of its appearance, will be supplemented and illustrated more than handsomely by the large volumes of engraved "monuments" of which the first is now in our hands. A commission had been assigned to Dr. Förster by the old King Lewis of Bavaria, and was confirmed by his successor, to reside at the various art-centres of Italy for the purpose of taking drawings after their monuments. Of such drawings, as the veteran student assures us in his preface, his portfolios are full; and it is a selection from them which are being engraved on copper under his superintendence for the illustration of the present work. Dr. Förster is a careful and accurate draughtsman, but, after the manner of his countrymen, apt to be a good deal too regular, smooth, and polished; and this quality is still further developed at the hands of his engravers; so that however faithful the rendering of mere outline in these plates, they fail to convey, with their monotonous delicacy and slight conventional shading, any adequate sense of the rugged or childish spirit of archaic work. However, in reading about works of art, it is a serious help to the reader to have at hand for reference the lines of composition and outlines of figures, faces, and drapery, even though some false touch of fineness and suavity be added to take out their more precise characteristics. And this book bids fair to be clearly better done, as well as on a more satisfactory scale, than that of Agincourt, and others which have preceded it. The author, as his "History" shows, is fully equipped with all the results of recent scholarship; and from the historical point of view his choice of examples seems to us satisfactory. He begins with the fresco-decorations of the Empire, and illustrates the art of the Catacombs and of the Basilicas in seven or eight examples, passing lightly over the period of the darkest decadence, and giving thirty plates to compositions or fragments of composition by the

<sup>37</sup> "Histoire de la Littérature Française, en Angleterre, en Suisse, en Prusse, en Hollande, et en Belgique. Depuis la mort de Louis XIV. jusqu'à la Révolution Française." Par A. Sayous. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1871.

<sup>1</sup> "Denkmale Italienische Malerei." Von Ernst Förster. Erster Band. Leipzig: Weigel. 1870.



*trecentisti* of Florence and Siena, including such well-known examples as the so-called Orcagnas of the Campo Santo, and the less-known though scarcely less noteworthy remains of the Veronese Giottists, Altichiero and Avanzo. In the Catacomb section, we may indeed regret that Dr. Förster should have left out a specimen to which recent criticism has attached such capital importance as to the Mary and Child with a prophet in the cemetery of Priscilla—according to De Rossi the earliest of pictured Maries, and of date almost apostolic. This, if criticism is right about it, would be a piece of much greater historical significance, as showing Christian art at its outset dealing freely with types which it was supposed to have developed much later, than either of the conventional heads of the Saviour which Dr. Förster elaborately transcribes from the Catacombs of S. Pontianus and S. Calixtus. But when our author gets into the more open field of mediæval art proper, we have no such case of questionable discrimination to bring against him; unless it be perhaps that of the last illustration to his volume. This is the immense votive picture of King Roger, in Naples, on which Dr. Förster seems to set rather exaggerated importance, and which he copies into his book from Schulz, without having himself taken a drawing. The text in this work is avowedly less to be regarded than the illustrations, and does not take the form of coherent or historical narrative; only of such comments as are required to explain the contents and position of each picture in order. With this aim, the notes in question are executed in a manner quite scholarly and sensible.

Of the many German art-critics and art-historians of the hour, Dr. Wilhelm Lübke is not one of the most profound, but is assuredly one of the most prolific.<sup>2</sup> What is more, he is readable, and is in this country better known, through the medium of translations than others of his more original compeers. The present book is one of comprehensive aims, professing in two good-sized volumes to carry the history of the art of sculpture continuously down from the primitive Oriental civilizations to our own time. Like so many German works of the same scope, it suggests nothing so much as a high-class school-book; is illustrated with the same set or sort of careful and moderately spirited woodcuts which one has seen so often, repeats the same dignified and intelligent generalities about the development of "spiritual freedom," "individual self-consciousness" and the rest in the great sculpture-school of antique Greece; and serves up, with no special brilliancy of presentment or largeness of view, the array of well-understood facts and formulas made easy of access by the wide-spread and persevering science of his country. In dealing with ancient art, the scholarship of Dr. Lübke is much less complete than when he deals with that of the Christian ages: for example, he is content to speak of the Venus of Milo as presumably the work of a scholar of Phidias—naming particularly in connexion with it the name of Alkamenes—and does not so much as refer to the much-debated inscription attested by Clarac, and tending to establish the work as one of the Rhodian epoch.

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<sup>2</sup> "Geschichte der Plastik." Von Dr. W. Lübke. Two vols, Leipzig: Seemann, 1870.

In his chapters on the Middle-Age and Renaissance Sculpture of Italy, Dr. Lübke has some results of first-hand study to impart; and again he is for the general reader exceedingly instructive in dealing with his countrymen Dannecker, Schwanthaler, Rauch, Schadow, and the rest who formed the subject of one of the most valuable essays in his volume of "Kunsthistorische Studien."

It was perhaps natural that the first occupants of the new chairs of Fine Arts at our two great Universities should wish to give to the world in a published form the opening courses of their professional work; though it by no means follows that professional courses on this subject should at ordinary times be better worth publication than others which are never destined to that honour. No two books could be much more unlike than those which last year issued from the origin in question.<sup>3</sup> Both Professors have conceived their task, in its preliminary portion, as a general and rhetorical rather than a scientific and particularized one. But there is the widest difference between the generalities and rhetoric of the one and the other. Mr. Ruskin's powerful and fascinating individuality never leaves him; and in reading these pages as they are printed one can realize well enough, in that remote degree, the working of the spell which filled the theatre, in the Hilary Term of 1870, with such throngs from far and near as hardly any Professor had ever drawn around him before. There is that about Mr. Ruskin which always, when he begins to speak, puts him *en rapport* with his audience, and for the time being is apt to disarm antagonism and carry away the most critical—an effect quite the opposite of what happens with the student when he is in possession of leisure and the printed words. Under these circumstances it becomes to some minds distressing, and to others amusing, to note how this writer's purely poetical and adventurous method of thinking, whereby it happens that his results need almost more testing and sifting than those of any one, is joined with the full persuasion of his own scientific and prophetic authority, and the habitual exaction of implicit intellectual submission from those whom he addresses. This attitude of the prophet or oracle goes frequently with intense conviction and eager concentration of the mind upon its own thoughts; but no writer, not even Mr. Ruskin himself, had ever so innocently formulated his own pretensions as where, in the last of his pamphlet-letters to workmen ("Fors Clavigera" for June), he with much solemnity assures the reader that he never writes what he only "opines," but that alone which he "knows." To have a persuasion is not the same thing as to have knowledge, no matter how brilliant the mind that, in the case of its own persuasions, cannot see the distinction. Such a mind is Mr. Ruskin's; but the student, who soon learns not to accept him as a teacher on his own terms, will not unlearn the delight of following the wayward graces of his genius, and as he goes on will only

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<sup>3</sup> "Lectures on Art." By John Ruskin, M.A., Slade Professor of Fine Art. Oxford. 1870.

"Fine Art: being a Course of Lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1870. By M. Digby Wyatt, Slade Professor of Fine Art. Macmillans. 1870.

admire more and more the luminous and penetrating quality of his natural insight, and the noble, if often fruitless and perverted, passion which animates his exposition of all the things which seem to him beneficent (and which in virtue of their beneficence he is constantly connecting, converting, and confounding) in art, nature, and life. The truest and most instructive strokes of these lectures are more often to be found in their episodes and digressions than in their main thesis; that headed "The Relation of Art to Religion," has its main thesis in the astonishingly commonplace and uninformative ideas of the harm done to religion, both ancient and Christian, by the embodiment of religious creations in material and sensible images, and of the better thing which it would have been if art had limited itself to the humbler task of terrestrial portraiture. That headed "The Relation of Art to Morality," surrendering in part the rhetorical fallacy that good art has had to do with good morality as that term is commonly understood, advances a series of arguments—still, in our judgment half assumption and part evasion—to connect it with something else which common language would not call morality, but healthiness of the instincts. When Mr. Ruskin approaches or adheres to the immediate topics of art, the value of his work begins to lie more in the commanding of assent, and less in the stimulating of denial, than when he deals with philosophical generalities. His chapters on Line, Light, Colour, contain, with very much that is engaging in the way of fanciful allegory, not a little that is valuable in the way of exposition of the modes in which these three constituents of the visible enter into nature and have been treated by art.

Fascinating paradox, or any charm of genius, will be looked for in vain in the lectures of the Cambridge Professor. A heavy and uncorrected style conveys the impression at once of difficulty and of negligence; and almost all the material of the book that has the shape of reflections resolves itself on perusal into verbose and good-humoured nullity. The theory of art, and of the emotions in us to which art corresponds, is not easy, and has not even been so far, or with so much consent, systematized and formulated, that a person undertaking to teach it in this country can supply his original deficiencies from accepted second-hand sources on the philosophy of æsthetics. Sir Digby Wyatt hardly shows that, so far as this branch of the study is concerned, he has so much as realized the gravity and complex nature of his undertaking. As concerns the other branches which he somewhat loosely scores off as "practice" and "history," he shows himself widely enough perhaps, but still much too loosely, conversant with technical and historical facts and authorities. For minutely critical detail the comprehensive scope of an introductory course naturally gives him no room. But ignorance and knowledge can be quite as well exhibited in a rapid sketch as in analytic study. Taking our author's summaries of the various main departments of his subject—architecture, sculpture, painting—one finds under each head a good deal of what, for the wholly uninformed, may be called "information." But there is a kind of information which, in the eyes of the scholar, betokens that which he understands by the word ignorance, and another kind

which betokens that which he understands by the word knowledge. The information in the present book is mainly—there is no escaping the fact—of the former stamp. The casual acquisitions, studies, recollections, and reflections of a gentleman fairly read in art-history, and versed in the practical concerns of private and public art-enterprise, are not sufficient equipments for a teacher to whom it is entrusted to put art, at one of our great Universities where the meaning of scholarship is understood, on the same footing as other provinces of the human intelligence. The dull, inaccurate, and slipshod book which we have before us is evidence of what happens when the teacher forgets this fact.

It is comforting to turn to a volume in which those qualities which the scholar loves do assert themselves. In Mr. R. Burn's "*Rome and the Campagna*,"<sup>4</sup> we have, by one of the most popular and hard-working of Cambridge college tutors, the best book which has been produced by any Englishman on the subject to which it is devoted. To go over chapter by chapter the topographical divisions and explorations of the work, and show where the author differs from previous writers, and which side he takes in the points disputed between the conflicting antiquarian schools, would be a task quite beyond our present limits as well as outside our proper scope. The whole book, indeed, belongs more to the province of archæology than to that of art, and to the province of history fully as much; we can only point to it as an admirable and standard volume, in which every student of antiquities at home, and every visitor to Rome who has time for the study, will find exhaustively and agreeably presented the latest results of research, digested and subjected to a searching revision and examination by an entirely competent scholar. The book is perfectly got up, and illustrated, beside maps and plans, with vigorous and satisfactory woodcuts after photographs taken for the purpose.

A still more important contribution, from the scientific point of view, to the literature of what is more immediately our subject, has just issued from the English press, in the shape of a new instalment of that copious history of Italian painting which embodies the research and devotion of Signor Cavalcaselle and his English colleague.<sup>5</sup> These two volumes, dealing with painting in North Italy as the previous three had dealt with it in the central peninsula, are treated by the publisher as Vols. I. and II of a separate and substantive work, and bound in a different cover from their predecessors. For the professed art-student—and indeed for all readers who love art and its history well enough to face in their pursuit the obstacles of a style unavoidably charged with technicalities, and at best somewhat bald and unpicturesque—the new pair of volumes are a first-rate acquisition. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's previous performances have long ago put them in the foremost European position as indefatigable critics and investigators in their field of study; and the work they have

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<sup>4</sup> "*Rome and the Campagna*." By Robert Burn, M.A. London and Cambridge. Deighton Bell. 1871.

<sup>5</sup> "*A History of Painting in North Italy*." By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. Vols. i. and ii. London: Murray. 1871.



done, with the help of documents and monuments, both in demolishing fables and in constructing history, is acknowledged on all hands as marking a new era in the study's progress. The great centre of interest in the present section is naturally the school of Venice, as in the other section it was the school of Florence; and it must depend on the personal taste and sympathies of the reader whether he finds in this portion of the subject or in that the greater fascination. If the science, intellect, and animation of the Florentines have most attraction for him, he will hold to the former; if the colour, splendour, stately joy of the Venetians, he will turn with more eagerness to the latter. The quantity of actual new material which the authors bring to bear upon their task is very great, the multitude of new points of view which they suggest much greater than can be even indicated here. A large part of their critical task necessarily consists in the correction of attributions summarily made and negligently accepted. It is the consequence of Venetian predilection for painting in oils, on panels or canvases of portable scale, that the works of their school form the staple of public and private galleries far and wide. As thus dispersed, they have suffered even more than those of other schools from the false and hasty system of nomenclature which usurps the greatest of names for the work of the smallest of the followers of him who bore it. The illusions of the collector and the assurances of the dealer necessarily suffer the rudest of shocks from a work having the solvent authority of this; and herein alone lies at least one clear gain to the cause of art-science. But the constructive part of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's work is still more remarkable and still more deserving of thanks than the destructive. This constructive part takes two chief forms, one of which has to do with the *dii majores* of painting, the other with obscurer figures or groups of figures. Our authors, we have said it, have not the literary faculty, or grasp of the general and picturesque, to give imaginative force to their studies of the great men; but the best possible basis for a right laying hold of such figures by the imagination is given, first, in the detailed technical analysis of those works which in each case appeal to criticism as beyond question authentic and characteristic, and next in the accumulation of the documentary materials of biography, drawn with the most industrious research not only from collections like those of Gaye and Bottari, but from local archives and records of all kinds ransacked with the true passion of the historian. In the case of Sebastiano del Piombo, in the case of the entire Bellini family, in the case of Mantegna, in the case of such a signal instance of obscure greatness as Pordenone, the service rendered in these matters to the student, or to the future historian who shall desire an accurate technical basis for his literary superstructure, is quite incalculable. A less thankful task, and one making a still greater call on the diligence and devotion of the explorer, is the second to which we have alluded—that of giving some trustworthy coherency and personality to the groups of third-rate figures whose names, and little more, are recorded in connexion with the minor *foci* of the art. For the Squarcionesques and other schools that have their centre at Padua; for the more in-



teresting Milanese precursors and contemporaries of Bramantino; for the predecessors of Francia at Bologna; for the rustic craftsmen who splashed with fresco all the street walls of the Trevisan and Friulan villages, until this or that one of them came within the circle of attraction of the great school of Venice, and went to the workshop of some master there, and brought back a perfected practice to his native mountains; for the brilliant secondary groups of Bergamo and Brescia;—for all these and more, the work of exploration and discrimination has been done with a zealous exactness of method which goes far beforehand to command confidence in its results.

We have received from America a translation, executed with not more than moderate felicity of idiom, from M. H. Taine's brilliant little historical sketch of "Art in the Netherlands."<sup>6</sup> Of the original of this we took notice when it first appeared. M. Taine's method and style are both of them the very opposite of those of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. He concerns himself little, if at all, with detailed research and the expert's business of comparison between touches, mediums, and processes; he knows little of the immediate causes of styles which it is the merit of the technical historian to explore—the knack of a master caught by his pupil, the accident of a new method influencing the ambitions of a school, and so forth. He knows only of remote or general causes—of certain antecedents, physical, geographical, ethnical, political, followed by certain consequences which manifest themselves in art. To formulate this correspondence between the *milieu* and its product, to trace the temperament of the Dutch breed and the temperature of the Dutch air in the aspect of a Dutch picture, this is M. Taine's task, and one of which he acquits himself with rare and effective readiness. No adequate philosophy can, of course, really be turned off in this summary way; but M. Taine's generalizations are valuable as arranging some of the facts picturesquely in a certain aspect; his subdivision of periods and styles among Flemings and Hollanders is one fairly enough founded, and very clear for retention in the memory.

The scope of Mr. Murray Graham's undertaking, taken together with its scale, imposes on the author brevity to the pitch of baldness.<sup>7</sup> It is not very easy to see what place can be filled in literature by a volume of this nature, which deals with things too well known to demand research, in a manner too summary to admit of analytical detail. An octavo of large type is divided into four books, two of nine chapters each on literature and painting, and two of two chapters each on architecture and sculpture, and in these divisions comprises the entire history of British fine art from the origins of native painting and sculpture, and all of British literary history since the epoch of Anne. So many names have to be named that the author has little space for remarks about any; and perhaps the most that can

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<sup>6</sup> "Art in the Netherlands." By H. Taine. Translated by J. Durand. New York. 1871.

<sup>7</sup> "An Historical View of Literature and Art in Great Britain, from the Accession of the House of Hanover to the Reign of Queen Victoria." By J. Murray Graham. London: Longmans. 1871.

be said of his work is, that it is free from blunders and shows the hand of an intelligent and informed, though not of a penetrating or original, writer.

Mr. Fairholt has put forth, in an ornamental cover and pleasantly illustrated for the drawing-room table, a collection of gossiping chapters on unconnected matters of archæology.<sup>8</sup> The weakest of these chapters is the last, which professes to deal with Albert Durer, but of which the contents are nothing more than a trite and uncorrected magazine *réchauffé* of the commonest authorities about his life and contemporaries. The best and most entertaining is that headed "Facts about Finger-rings," where the author seems to be dealing with that which he has in some sort made a special study. We hardly know of a better popular account of this particular branch of archæology. Both in this and other sections of the book the author has drawn very largely for the subjects of his woodcut illustrations upon the Londesborough collection, which assumes throughout his pages a very prominent place.

In opening the pages of Mr. Chaffers's serial publication on pottery<sup>9</sup> one is disappointed at finding nothing that is up to the mark of the writer's recognised authority. A collection of permanent "Woodbury-type" photographs after works of the potter's art, is illustrated by a rather hasty letterpress of unequal value. The illustrations seem so far to be chosen with small sense of historical proportion; in the first number we leap, after a scanty and unsatisfactory half-a-dozen of illustrations of Grecian fictile art, straight into the Renaissance and the Italian practice of majolica at Perugia, Caffaggiuolo, Gubbio, and the other famous centres.

The little book of "Spanish Towns and Spanish Pictures,"<sup>10</sup> which its author dedicates to Sir William Stirling Maxwell, adds nothing of value to the materials already existing for its special subject, in the writings of that gentleman himself and of Mr. Ford; it is, in fact, the simple diary of an ordinarily intelligent lady, made up of observations and guide-book jottings, and enriched with two or three photographs and tail-pieces. At most, however, Mrs. Tollemache's little volume is as much without offence as it is without excellence.

Etching is an art for which the taste seems to be gradually growing among English collectors, and even, judging by some recent publications, to be extending to the general public. Mr. Whistler's magnificent portfolio of plates<sup>11</sup> is, however, destined, both by cost and quality, for the few: a very limited number only of proof copies have been issued, and the paper for printing them is rare old Dutch paper, provided by the artist himself. Nearly all of the designs date from about a dozen years ago, since which time, as we understand, the artist

<sup>8</sup> "Rambles of an Archæologist." By Frederick William Fairholt. London: Virtue. 1871.

<sup>9</sup> "The Ceramic Gallery." By William Chaffers. Parts i. ii. and iii. Chapman and Hall. 1871.

<sup>10</sup> "Spanish Towns and Spanish Pictures." By Mrs. W. A. Tollemache. London: Hayes. 1870.

<sup>11</sup> "Sixteen Etchings of the Thames, and other Subjects." By James Whistler. London: Ellis and Green. 1871.

has not occupied himself seriously with this method of production. Among practitioners with the etching-needle these pieces show Mr. Whistler as possessed of a native power and an understanding of the special effects in which lies the magic of the art, to a degree not surpassed by any rival either at home or abroad. In almost every one of them we may pick out some passage or part pre-eminent for mastery; in one the exquisite sense of distance and perspective shown in a succession of barges swinging up the mid-river with the tide; in another the complete effect of watery flow and wash rendered by the drawing and crossing of a few lines of shadow in the middle of a great blank expanse which represents the river; in another the brusque force and certainty of touch with which the differences of material are imitated in brick walls and wooden sheds and slate roofs and variously tiled and timbered pent-houses which line the river bank; in another the rich and subtle glow got by nameless knacks of cutting and printing, the mysterious effects of colour and sunset. But there is a common defect which almost all the pieces seem to us to possess, side by side with these excellences, and that is the wanton slurring in them all of much of the space which comes into the picture. There is plenty of precedent for this in the practice of artists who have used etching as the medium of short-hand notes and hastily registered suggestions or impressions; but we do not see that this precedent justifies the same practice in the artist who deliberately gives to the world a sumptuous collection of etched pieces, on which he may be supposed to have spent his best pains. We think it is distinctly to be regretted that an etcher of the power and instinct of Mr. Whistler should have produced, among these sixteen plates, only three or four which approach the character of complete pictures, and that in the rest he should have worked up in his brilliant way pet parts only, covering the rest of the paper with easy slashes and scrawls that mean little and cost less.

The second series of etchings which we have to notice, in the drawing-room book lately published by Messrs. Seeley, shows the popular tendency of which we have spoken.<sup>12</sup> Mr. Chattock is somewhat tentative and unequal with his needle, but the best of his plates, like two which illustrate Canon Kingsley's "Song of the River," and one which illustrates Shelley's "Skylark," stand at a thoroughly admirable level both of sentiment and execution.

Mr. Rogers's pretty Christmas book of "Mores Ridiculi" is one of the best of a class to which, with Mr. Marks, Mr. Rogers has mainly contributed.<sup>13</sup> Instead of the vulgar and fiery-coloured prints with which the children's books of our own childhood used to be decorated, we have real charm and delicacy of colour, and humour of the kind perhaps more easily appreciated by the full-grown than the little, but still perfectly refined and genuine, with its amused and self-conscious manner of travestying the costumes and demeanour of mediæval times. In this book the illustration of "Margery Daw" is the one most to be commended for comic conception and pleasant fulness of incident.

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<sup>12</sup> "Songs and Etchings." Music by R. Anderton; Etchings by R. S. Chattock. London: Seeley. 1871.

<sup>13</sup> "Mores Ridiculi." J. E. Rogers. London: Macmillans. 1871.

## THE NEW YORK GOLD CONSPIRACY.

In our last number we inserted a letter by Mr. David Dudley Field, in reply to certain criticisms on Mr. Field's professional conduct as legal adviser of the Erie Railway Company, contained in the article entitled, "The New York Gold Conspiracy" (*Westminster Review*, October, 1870). In his letter, Mr. Field says: "These passages cover about as much untruth as could be crowded into so many lines."

Without intending to be drawn into controversy—least of all on a point of veracity—with any person directly or indirectly connected with the present management of the Erie Railway, we may say that we have read carefully and without prejudice all that Mr. Field has said in reply to the criticisms referred to, and except in one or two particulars, which are in no way essential, we have found no occasion to modify or retract any of the statements made in that article. In justice to Mr. Field, however, it should be said that the American public is the first and final judge of his conduct and it is in America that this controversy, which has lately assumed unexpected importance, must be settled. If English readers are interested in following up the subject, they will find the case as against Mr. Field stated in a series of letters, published in March last, by Mr. F. C. Barlow, in the *New York Tribune*, and lately republished, with Mr. Field's reply, in pamphlet form; and also in articles in the *North American Review* for April. But the charges brought against Mr. Field now go far beyond anything we suggested, and their justice or propriety are matters for the American bar to determine. To that decision, whenever it is reached, the American public will bow; and we are fully assured that that decision will be found in all essential points strictly accordant with our own statements on the subject.

*Editor of the Westminster Review.* }











